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त म सो मा ज्यो ति र्ग म य

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VĪṆĀVĀSAVADATTA

ACT VII

EDITED BY DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA.

The first Three Acts of this rare drama appeared in the years 1927 to 1931 of this Journal serially, and it was later issued as a separate book as Madras Oriental Series No. 2. The fourth Act was later edited by me in this Journal in 1936. Acts V and VI appeared in the Bharatiya Vidya, Singhi Special Number, in 1945. The seventh Act is now published again in this Journal. The eighth and last Act will appear as the next instalment.

Th collected verses from the drama, found in a manuscript, are given separately at the end of the Act. The original manuscript is much mutilated and corrupt, and so it is not possible to give either a full or continuous or correct text. What is available in the manuscript is given here.

॥ वीणावासवदत्तम् ॥

॥ सप्तमोऽङ्कः ॥

वास[1]—दिअं[2]। स हि भवदो आआय्यो[3] भविस्सदि त्ति तक्केमि। [दिवम् (?)। स हि भवतः आकार्यो भविष्यति इति तर्कयामि]

राजा—एवमेव मे मनोरथः ।

वास—अंब अलं दानीं[4] एदेण [अम्ब अलमिदानीमेतेन]

राजा—तथा ।

वास—हंजे इमं दाव गह्ण [हञ्जे इमां तावद् गृहाण]

काञ्चनमाला—भट्टिणि तह [भट्टिनि तथा] (वीणां गृहीत्वा उपविशति)

साङ्कृत्यायनः—(आत्मगतम्)–देवी[5] गमनविघ्नं देवस्य कुर्यात् (प्रकाशम) को नु खल्वयमतीव मुखरः ।

राजा—मत्तविलासो नामायं डिण्डिको राज्ञा मे दत्तः[6] ।

साङ्कृ—किमयं जानाति (राजा किंचिद्विलम्बति[7]) मत्तविलासो नाम ननु त्वम् ।

---

1. This I conjecture to be the words of Vāsavadattā.

2. This is how it begins after the break, which extends t(eight folia in the orignal palm-leaf manuscript.

3. आ आ य्या

4. Written अळन्दाणीं

5. देव

6. दत्तम्

7. विलम्बयति

विदू—होदु । एसो दाव मत्तो [भवतु । एष तावन्मत्तः] (नृत्यति)
राजा (आत्मगतम्)—अहो नु खल्वकृत्रिममस्या रूपलावण्यम्[1] । कुतः—

गात्रेषु देव्या निपतत्यतुल्यश्रीमत्सु[2] दृष्टिर्मम[3] यत्र यत्र ।
ततस्ततोऽसौ महता श्रमेण श्लेषावबद्धेव[4] पुनर्व्यपैति[5] ॥ १ ॥

वास—(आत्मगतम्) इच्छम्मि तं ज[6] पेक्खिदुं । एदेण उण पेक्खन्तेण विघ्नीअदि [इच्छामि तं प्रेक्षितुम् । एतेन पुनः प्रेक्षमाणेन विहन्यते]

विदू—होदि एसो दाव मज्झममत्तो [भवति एष तावन्मध्यममत्तः] (नृत्यति)
साङ्कृ—अहो सविशेषम् ।
विदू—अहं खु णच्चामि । देवीए उण चक्खू अत्तहोदो मुखे इणच्च [अहं खलु नृत्यामि । देव्याः पुनः चक्षुः अत्रभवतो मुखे नृत्यति]

राजा—मुखनेत्रशिखाद्विजाधरभ्रूजघनोरुस्तनमध्यपाणिवर्जम् ।[7]
कथितेक्षणहासतश्च[8] देव्या रतिमिश्रा[9] क्षरतीव कामधारा ॥ २ ॥

विदू—भोदि एसो दाव अदिमत्तो [भवति एष तावदतिमत्तः] (नृत्यति)
काञ्चु—(आत्मगतम्)—भट्टिदारिआ ण तस्सिं चित्तं देदि[10] । [भर्तृदारिका न तस्मिन् हृदं दधाति]
विदू—भअवदि किमण्णं णच्चामि [भगवति ! किमन्यन्नृत्यामि]

---

1. लामण्यम्
2. निपतत्यतुल्यं श्रीमन्ध
3. दृष्टिः मर्म
4. श्वेषाववद्धेव
5. पुनर्व्यपेति
6. ज not clear ; perhaps अ=च
7. Vatsarājaprabandha writes द between खा and जा and scores the letter; and has पद्मस्य for वर्जम्
8. त Missing.
9. रतिमात्रा in Vatsarājaprabandha
10. देहि

साङ्कृ—अलमलम् । परिश्रमः स्यात् ।

राजा—(आत्मगतम्)—व्यक्तं देव्या रुधिरमधरम्[1]........

साङ्कृ[2]—(विलोक्य)—अये प्रविष्टो वत्सराजः ।[3]

वास—(राजानं दृष्ट्वा आत्मगतम्)—ण पारइस्समहमिह ठादुं [न पारयाम्यहमत्र स्थातुम्] (साङ्कृत्यायन्या[4] सह तिरोऽभूत्)

भर—देव आगम्यताम् (सर्वे उपसर्पन्ति)

काञ्चनमाला[5]—(आत्मगतम्)—भट्टिदारिआ एरिसं पुरिसं सविसेसं पेक्खिअ अणमत्ता भविस्सदि [भर्तृदारिका ईदृशं पुरुषं सविशेषं प्रेक्ष्य अनवहिता (?) भविष्यति]

भर—उक्तं मया पूर्वमेव राज्ञोऽभिप्रायः । एष खलु देवस्तवाचार्यः ।

साङ्कृ—कोऽन्यो देव्या गुरुर्भवितुमर्हति[6] विना वैदेहीपुत्रात् ।

भर—देव एषा ते शिष्या । प्रतिगृह्यताम् ।

राजा—प्रतिगृहीतमात्ममङ्गलं च ।

भर—अद्य खलु गुणवन्नक्षत्रम्, तस्माद्द्यैव वीणा प्रारब्धव्या[7] इति महाराजेनाज्ञापितम् । सर्वदेवतापूजा पुर्यां चोत्सवः कर्तव्यः । तद्गन्तव्यं मया ।

राजा—यथा भवानाह ।

भर—देव तथा (निष्क्रान्तः)

कान्चु—देव कल्पितानि यथार्हाण्यासनानि । उपविशतु देवः ।

राजा—स्थीयतां भगवति[8] ।

साङ्कृ—उपविश्यताम् । एषा ह्युपविष्टा । (उपविशति)

वास—हद्धि (काञ्चनमालामाश्रयति)

राजा—भद्र आस्यताम् ।

---

1. Here there is again a long break of one folio in the ms.
2. The stage direction about the King's entry is also missing.
3. But the king was on the stage, already.
4. सांकृत्यायिन्य ।
5. कान्चु
6. गुरूभवितु
7. प्रारब्धा
8. भगवती

साङ्कृ—वत्से अनुवर्तनीयं ननु गुरुवचनम् ।

वास—अम्ब तथा (उपविशति)

राजा[1]—वीणा तावदानीयताम् ।

काञ्चु—देव तथा (निष्क्रान्तः)

विदू—मं कोऽपि ण भणादि इह उवविस[2] त्ति । होदु । अहं[3] एव्व[4] अत्ताणं भणामि—भो मत्तविळास उवविस (इत्युपविश्य) भो णिम्मक्खिआ दाणिं उड्डुपास्सिआ सःवुत्ता [मां कोऽपि न भणति इह उपविश इति । भवतु । अहमेवात्मानं भणामि—भो मत्तविलास उपविश (इत्युपविश्य) भो निर्मक्षिका इदानीं उड्डुपास्सिआ (?) संवृत्ता ।

राजा—भगवति !

लज्जा विलासो विनयं मृदुत्वं कान्तिर्वपुः श्रीर्नवयौवनं च ।
अत्यर्थमुद्रिक्ततयानुरागात् स्थितान्यहंपूर्विकयेव देव्याः ॥ ३ ॥

सांकृ—सदृशमुक्तं देवेन । गुणव....[5]मया विज्ञातं[6] अनुरक्तया[7] तया भवितव्यमिति ।

विदू—किं दाणिं तए कज्जम् [किमिदानीं तया कार्यम्]

विदू—भो संपत्ता ह्म आवासं [भो संप्राप्ताः स्म आवासम्]

राजा—वयस्य ।

संदर्शनं प्रत्यहमङ्गनानां पुंसामतिस्नेहविवृद्धिहेतुः ।
लब्धं च तद्द्वारमचिन्त्यमस्मात् प्राप्तामिवाहं दयितामवैमि ॥ ४ ॥

(निष्क्रान्तौ[8])

इति सप्तमोऽङ्कः

---

1. राजा not in ms.
2. इह विस
3. अं
4. एव
5. A few syllables missing
6. विज्ञाता
7. Space for a letter blank between क्त and या.
8. निष्क्रान्तः

The following verses from this Act are seen in the Vatsarāja-prabandha :—

देव्याः पूर्वं रूपशोभामृतेन व्याकृष्टत्वाद्द्रष्टुमुद्रिक्तकर्षा(र्णा) ।
गत्वा गत्वा चेतसा सार्धमेनां दृष्ट्वा दृष्ट्वा दृष्टिरभ्यागतेव ॥ १ ॥

धाता ध्रुवं कुपितवानतिरूपगर्वाद्देवासुरोरगौ(गपु)रादिवधूजनेभ्यः ।
यं(नो)चेदमर्षपरवान् स कथं नु नाम यत्नादिमा....जेद(?)सपत्नशोभाम् ॥

लज्जा विलासो विनयं(यो) मृदुत्वं - - वपुश्रीर्नवयौवनं च ।
अत्यर्थमुद्रिक्ततयानुरागात् स्थितान्यहंपूर्विकयेव देव्याः ॥ ३ ॥
(see verse 3)

विष्णोर्जयत्यरुणताम्रतलस्य पादो यः प्रोज्झितः सललितं त्रिजगत् प्रमातुम ।
क्वापि प्रविष्टरुचिराङ्गुलिराबभासे वैडूर्यसंक्रम इवाम्बरसागरस्य ॥ ४ ॥

चतुरुदधिजलाम्बरां - - फलभरपिञ्जरशालिमालिनीम् ।
चिरमवतु नृपो हताहितां हिमगिरिविन्ध्यपयोधरां धराम् ॥ ५ ॥

यथा यथा पश्यति भीतभीतं दृष्टया स्वपक्ष्मान्तरगूढया माम् ।
तथा तथा मे क्षरतीव धैर्यं विलीयमानं मदनानलेन ॥ ६ ॥

परस्परविवृद्धहार्द्र(र्द)रससम्पदद्द्रा(?)श्मनां
प्रवृद्धनवयौवनोदयविदाहिनां कामिनाम् ।
(मनो)रथमहारथं मदनसारथिः सादरं
समागमपुरीं परां नयतु कान्त - - मुत्सवाम् ॥ ७ ॥

रुचिराङ्गुलिपल्लवाः स्पृशन्तो मधुधाराः कपिलाः क्वणतन्त्रीः(?) ।
भ्रमतां निवहन्ति तुण्डलीलां बकुलाः पिञ्जरपञ्जरे शुकानाम् ॥ ८ ॥

गात्रेषु देव्याः (see verse 1)

मुखनेत्रशिखा (see verse 2)

THE LANGUAGE OF RĀMACARITAM *

BY

L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar

(*Maharaja's College, Ernakulam*)

Three editions of the work called 'Rāmacaritam' have been printed so far. The University of Madras published several years a text containing 717 verses ; as this edition contains no introduction, little is known about the provenance of the manuscript or manuscripts forming the basis. The poet Uḷḷūr S. Paramēśvara Iyer had published in 1916 the text of 30 paricchēdas with a very helpful introduction and useful notes. Uḷḷur's scholarly observations provided the impulse for the further study of the work. In 1931 there appeared what was described as the full text of the work in the Travancore Citrōdayamañjarī series. Three manuscripts appear to have been used here, but no attempt has been made to define the text after subjecting the mss. to a scrutiny on the basis of prosodics or metrics. Subtle points of phonology, relating particularly to the transitional stage of the evolution of the west coast speech from the parent language, cannot be solved in the absence of such a definitive text. The study of morphology is a little easier, especially if care is taken to envisage only illustrations common to the mss. and repeatedly occurring in them.

An examination of the morphology of the text reveals four sets of forms:

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* The system of transliteration adopted in this essay is that of the M.L.J. Press with the following symbols representing west coast sounds:

nd (Tam. ṉṟ)—the alveolar group formed of the nasal and the plosive.

tt (Tam. ṟṟ)—the long alveolar plosive.

n—the blade—dental nasal phoneme of Old Tamil and Malayāḷam, to be distinguished from the point-alveolar ṉ.

I have analysed elsewhere the language of Old Mal. texts published after my E(volution) of M(al.) M(orphology) came out. These texts are Kauṭalīyam Bhāṣā, Dūtavākyam, Brahmāṇḍapurāṇam, Uttararāmāyaṇam and Dēvīmāhātmyam.

(*a*) Old forms which may have been purely "traditionary" or "conventional";

(*b*) "ancestral" forms which the west coast speech "inherited" from the "parent" language and retained for brief periods in the transitional stage;

(*c*) west coast developments which disappeared in the later growth of the speech (may be, at different stages in different instances); and

(*d*) developments that have continued down till today.

Those forms which have fallen into disuse in Middle Tam. colloquials and which never struck root in Mal. (as shown by the examination of contemporary and later texts) are certainly Tamilisms employed out of deference to literary conventions. To this group would belong features like the following:

(1) sandhi changes, as in *idaṟku, nīṉayaṉē, oṇḍēr, varuṇaṉ-rica, ticagaḍōṟum, mēttaram, pottūṇ*;

(2) Tense-forms, with the augment-*aṉ*-, like *molindaṉaṉ*; and old forms like *pōyiṉār*, etc.;

(3) Prohibitives like *iḷaikkaṉmiṉ*.

Those Middle Tamil forms which do not have direct cognates in Early Mal. and which occur sporadically in the earlier texts may also be regarded as "Tamilisms" introduced in deference to literary convention. To this group would belong forms like *adukku, ceyyākkāl, aṟiyāmal, etc.*

Then there are "ancestral" forms appearing side by side with forward west coast developments in Old Mal. texts, as in Ramācaritam. I think it would be incorrect to lay down on the strength of an observation in the fourteenth-century Līl. ["pāṇḍyabhāṣāsārūpyam bāhulyēṉa 'pāṭṭ' iti kēraḷabhāṣāyām"], that all such instances were foreign to the west coast at this stage and that the west coast speech was "born full-fledged" like Urvaśī from out of the sea.

In this connection one may have to envisage the importance of another observation of Līl., viz. that "the low castes of Kerala make use of cōḻabhāṣā forms like *māṅgā, vandāṉ*, etc." The probability of many of these older forms existing side by side with forward developments in different parts of the country can certainly not be ruled out in the earlier transitional stages.

The marking-off of the categories (*a*), (*b*), (*c*) and (*d*) enables the student of Malayalam to "place" this work among

Old Malayāḷam texts already analysed and fixed chronologically. Ancillary as the evidence of language certainly is (especially in the circumstances that obtained in the past in Kerala), it cannot be altogether neglected. If Rāmacaritam shows quite a respectably larger number of linguistically earlier features than say, the fourteenth-century Līlātilakam, it could not have been due to the mere accident of a supposedly regional or communal dialectic variation. Nor would the theory stand, which ascribes the work to a comparatively recent date on the ground that it is composed in a "frontier"—dialect or "mixed" speech; for in the first place such a "frontier"-speech cannot be traced anywhere, and secondly many of the features mentioned below are undoubtedly Old Malayāḷam as evident from comparisons with other old Malayāḷam works.

1. Old nominal bases now no longer in use inherited from the "parent"-speech whether as part of tradition or as active forms in early stages: *allal, attal, amar, aḍal, aṉṉal, aṉṉa* 'fool', *iḍaññeṟu. īṉḍal, igal, icai, uvavi, kōṭṭal, marakkalam, pagaḻi, maiyal, māttam, māṉbu, mārvu, parava, paḍiññāyiṟu,* compounds like *ār-amudu, oṉḍēr, ēdilar, veñjiṉam, vīyaṅgōḷ, ceḻuṅgaḷal, muraṉgiḷar, val-l-āḻi, valliḍi, vallarivīrar.*

Characteristic west coast developments: *cemmu* (cf. Tam. *cemmai* and *cemmal*), *pēḍi* 'fear', *vā* 'mouth' (cf. Tam. colloquial *vā*), *pūvu* (cf. Middle and Modern Tam. colloquial *pūvu*), *muḻuvaṉ* (cf. Tam. *muḻuvadu*), *cēl* (cf. Tam. *ceyal*), *vādil* (cf. Tam. *vāydil*).

2. The second case ending is generally *e* (cf. Tam. colloquial *e*) but manuscripts evidence hesitancy between *c* and *a* which latter was perhaps a slightly frontalised, weak-accented *a*.

3. "Separation" (or "absence of union") is associated with the third case endings *oḍu* and *ōḍu*, as in *uyiroḍu tala vēṟupaḍutti, aḍuttavarōḍum vēṟāyi* (cf. EMM, p. 8) Although no express provision exists in Tolkāppiyam for this use of the third case, there are instances like the Tolkāppiyam sūtra *muṟṟugaramoḍu poruḷ vēṟupaḍāadu* ... and Middle Tam. instances like *numarōḍu piriyādu.*

4. As for the fourth case, the new ending-*u* (after-*ṉ* and-*iṉ*) appears commonly beside older-*ṉ-u-kku* and-*iṉ-u-kku*. Older forms of the type of *endiṉku, adiṉku* (without the **augment-*u*)** appearing in Kauṭalīyam are absent here.

5. The fifth case endings are locatives (or place-denoting words) followed by *ninnu* (cf. Vīrac.)

The ancient *iṉ* appears in *adiṉum mēlē* with a fifth case force.

Similarly, *-il* in *adil param, kūṭṭattil ēṟē* is the fifth case-*il* mentioned in Naṉṉūl.

-iṉ-il (constituted of the augment-*iṉ* and *il*) appears only with a seventh case force in this text: *viraviṉil, tikkiṉil, kaḻuttiṉil, maṉattiṉil.* This is a descendant of older-*iṉ-iṉ* used in certain Old Tamil texts with the fifth case signification, generally speaking, and rarely with a seventh case force under the influence of the newly popularised and locative postposition-*il.* Tolkāppiyam prohibits the use of the augment-*iṉ*-before the fifth case ending-*iṉ* but already Kuṟundogai shows *kaḷattiṉiṉ*) and Pattuppāṭṭu has *tappiṉiṉ vaḻāadu* (both with a fifth case force), while Kalittogai evidences a seventh case signification also for the ending which came (under the influence of-*il*) to be regarded as-*iṉ-il* (in sandhi-affected positions).

iṉ-il is used in many Middle Tamil texts (and in modern Tamil poetry) only with a seventh case force, but in the earliest stages of the west coast speech, it seems to have been used with both the fifth case (comparisonal) and seventh case meanings. Kauṭalīyam has *kīḻēdiṉil nāṉ-madaṅṅu, hāṉi-vannadiṉil nāṉmadaṅgu* in the fifth case, *adiṉil tīyiṭṭu, śatruviṉil,* etc. in the seventh case.

6. *uḍe* is most common, but (*ṉ*) *de* and (*iṉ*) *de* are not met with, and *uḍaya* is rare. Some mss. show-*iḍe* where *i* represents a neutralized, weak-accented sound with no lip-rounding. Kauṭalīyam has *uḍaya, uḍe* and *iḍe* (*i* being a centralised, weak-accented *u*).

7. *il, -kal* (*-iṉ-gal*>*iṅgal*) and both the "rigid" and "loose" postpositions appear for the seventh case: *uḷ, iḍai* (*iḍa*), *ūḍē, micai* (*mica*), *mēl, kīḻ, pakkal,* etc.

-attu in the instances *teruvattu* and *naḍuvattu,* where this augment is not normal in post-Tolkāppiyam Tamil, may be compared to-*attu* in Tolkāppiyam instances like *veyilattu, paṉi-y-attu, vaḷi-y-attu, maḻa-y-attu.*

Another 'archaism' in the west coast speech is furnished by *kiḻakku nāṭṭu cellumbōḻ* which has come down to the present day in constructions like *kōḻikkōṭṭu cennu,* where the geminated

ṭṭu (without any seventh case affix proper) denotes the locative meaning. Old Tamil had such constructions, as in *kāṭṭu-c-celba-v-eṉba* [Kuṟundogai].

The association of a locative force in *agamē pōyi, āgāśamē paṟannu, teruvē naḍannappōḷ* is due to the analogy of words like *muṉbē, kiḻakkē* where the emphasis-denoting *ē* was popularly accociated with the locative idea.

8. *eḍō*, the sambōdhana word, peculiar to the west coast' denoting familiarity without contempt, exists in this text beside *eḍā* and *eḍī* (cf. Middle Tam. forms <Old Tām. *ēḍā* and *ēḍī*),

The following Tolkāppiyam types of vocatives are absent in Mal.: *naṅgāy* (of *naṅgai*), *pārppīr* and *kariyīr* (of *pārppār kariyar*), *tōṉṟāl* (of *tōṉṟal*), and vocatives with aḷabeḍai.

The change of *-aṉ* to *-ōy* is represented in literary instances like *kulattiṉu kaṟayāy--uḷḷōy-ē* and *śūraril muṉb-uḍayōy*; *rāmā-v-ō, taṉayā-v-ō,, rāmaṉ-ē* and the use of *-ē* in *-uḷḷōy-ē* are all later than Tolkāppiyam usage.

9. The directive ending *-ēkk* is not common; the only instance available is *iviḍēkku*. Forms with *-il-ēkku,-iṅgal,-ēkku att-ēkku* do not appear, although the terminative expletive *ē* is found in *nagarattilē, taṟayilē, agattē. adilkku,* appearing often in this text, is perhaps an incipient directive without-*ē*-.

The qualificatory *ē* is also very rare; there is one instance: *kīḻilē ttoḻilgaḷellām pēciṉapoḻudu*. Directional words like *kīḻakkē* are sometimes coupled with viśeṣyas, as in *kiḻakkē-ttica.* cf. Kauṭalīyam.

10. Directives with—*nōkki* (*cf.* instances like *hastiṉapuri nōkki-p-pōṉar* in the prose portion of the Middle Tam. text Perundēvaṉār's Bhāratam) and *ammāṟu* appear: *vaḍakkunōkki, maṇmēl-ammāṟu* and *kiḻakkiṉ-vādilkkalāmmāṟu.peṭṭu,* as a directive ending, occurs in *mēlpeṭṭu, kīḻpeṭṭu* (*cf.* Tam. *mēl-paṭṭu* and *kīḻpaṭṭu*) and in *puṟattūṭṭu* (for the *ū* of which, *cf.* EMM, p. 15.)

11. *Curuṅg-iḍa-mār* 'women with slender waists' (with the plural ending *mār*) the old plurals *palava* (*pal* and *pala*) and *cilava,* (*cila*), *av* and *iv, āṇ-gaḷ* and *peṇ-gaḷ* (later *aṇuṅṅaḷ* and *peṇṇuṅṅaḷ* in view of the semantic alteration suffered by *āṇ-gaḷ* and *peṇgaḷ*) and traditional forms like *nālvar* and *eṇmar.*

12. In the use of augments in nominal inflexions, the following may be noted.

idam-oḍu, kuṇam-oḍu, aṟam-oḍu, without the augment *-att* illustrate a usage which is as ancient as Tolkāppiyam Eḻuttu.

The augment-*iṉ-* is often used in the inflexional forms of bases with *-i, -a* and consonants, in the second and third cases: *cadi-y-iṉ-āl, cīda-y-iṉ-e.*

The non-rational plurals *ava* and *iva* take on always the augment -(*a*)*tt-* but *ellā-y-ilum* evidences a west coast development in which the augment is left out. This *ellā-y-ilum* is often heard today beside *ellāttilum.*

Kōvil-kku, viralkku, kaḻalkku, kālkku, without the augment after bases having final *-l,* are unusual in modern language.

13. Noteworthy old forms among pronouns are *ñaṅṅaḷ* (both as nominative, and as an 'oblique' stem as in *ñaṅṅaḷ-il*), *nimmil* (*nim-* being the oblique stem of the second person plural), *emmil* (*em* being the oblique stem of the first person plural pronoun), and *eṅgaḷ-.*

nim- and *em-* are purely traditional forms; *nim-* may be compared to Old Tam. *num-*; and *em-* to Old Tam. *em-,*

eṅgaḷ- has its counterpart in Middle Tam., while *ñaṅṅaḷ* (and *ñaṅṅaḷ*) evidence *ñ-* as a west coast peculiarity.

14. Old verb-bases that form part of the "inherited', stock but that have now gone out of use: *iḷai-kk-, orumaṉapp-eḍ-, ouḍ-, kiḷar-, kaḍāv-, kōl-, kudaṟ-, cāḍ-* 'to attack', *ceṟu-kk-cepp-, tāv-, tuyar-, pēc-, pudai-, pugal-, metl-, mīḷ-, vagai-' kai mey maṟa-kk-, pōr kiḍai,* etc.

Early west coast "developments" (structural, semantic or both), that have fallen into disuse today: *īḍ-, uḻaṟ-, ēg-*'to order', *kiḻai-kk-*(as in *kiḻaicca nāviṉōḍum* with gasping, weakened tongue'), *ceññ-* 'to be reddened', *tiḻkk-*(modern *tikk-*), *naṇṇ-* 'to consider deeply', *kēḷ-, kareṟ-, piḍipeḍ-* and *vēṟ-iri-kk* used as transitives.

Developments that continue to exist till today: *aḍar-, uḷavāg-* (for all persons and numbers), *orumbeḍ-, kuḍai-, tall-, teḷi-kk-* 'to drive chariot, cattle etc.', *pagar-* (cf. Tam. *peyar-* and *pagir-*) *pēḍi-kk-* 'to be afraid' *cemmu-var-* 'to be beautified or sanctified, (which exists in modern *cemmōrttu* of christians).

15. The so-called "defective" verbs belong to different categories: (*a*) Kuṟippuviṉai bases iike *uḷ, al, il* and *val*; (*b*) terinilai bases showing only a limited nnmber of verb-forms from the beginning, like *vall-* and *ol* (or *oll-*) ; (*c*) old verb-

bases, of which only certain forms were popular in later stages of speech-evolution, like *aṟ-*, *iṟ-*, *mig-*, *pōl-*, *eṉ-*.

In Rāmacaritam, apart from *uṇḍu* and *uḷḷa*, the old forms *uḷaṉ*, *uḷaḷ*, *uḷar*, *uḷaṉ-āyāṉ*, *uḷar-āyār*, *aṟiññ-uḷaṉ* are met with.—One instance of *ilēṉ* (in *kaṇḍ-ilēṉ*) is available but *alēṉ*, *alāy*, *alaṉ* are not available. There are the participles *illādu* and the west coast development *illayādu*, *allādu* and *allayādu*, the conditional *illāygil*, *illayāygil*, allāygil and allayāygil (beside older *allāl* and *allāgil* and *allāyil*) ; *illayāygil* and *allayāygil* were perhaps formed under the influence *illa-y-āg—* and *alla-y-āg-*.

The old participle *aṉṟi* is, in compounds particularly, represented in this text by *eṉdi* (and *enni*), while *iṉṟi* appears as *iṉdi* (*inni*), *eṉdi* (enni) and also as *īṉdi* (*īnni*), the long ī in the last-mentioned being due to the analogy of west coast *īla* isolated from forms like *kiṭṭīla* < *kiṭṭīlla* < *kiṭṭi-y-illa*.—Kauṭ, shows *eṉdi* for *aṉṟi* numerously but *iṉṟi* is only *iṉdi*. The works of the Paṇikkars show *eṉdi* (*enni*) both for *aṉṟi* and *iṉṟi*. Possibly, the course of change was that *a* of *aṉṟi* was first changed to *e* through a frontalized weak-accented stage and that later (through confusion between *aṉdi* and *iṉdi*) the *e* was transferred to *iṉdi* also. Dissimilation was perhaps also operative here in the change of *i* to *e*. The form *enni* (*yē*) was very common down till the New Mal. period. It represented *aṉdi* and *iṉdi* alike. To-day, *enniyē* is an archaism (often appearing in poetry).

allā and *illā* have been used in Mal. also as bases of forms with negative tense-endings annexed to them: *allāññu*, *allāyum*, *illāññu*, *illāyum*.

Similarly, *arudu* (the kuṟippuviṉai non-rational singular of *ar*) has given rise to west coast forms like *arudāyinnu* (negative present finite), *arudāññu* (neg. past), *arudāyum* (neg. fut.), *arudāyvāṉ* (neg. participle).

val- as a kurippuviṉai base underlies forms like *vallavaṇṇam* 'in some manner' (for the roots of the semantic change, *cf.* Old Tamil *vallāṅgu* and *valla-v-āṟu*), *valladum* 'something' *vallavarēyum* 'some persons' and the negatives (*colla*) *vallēṉ*, *vallōm*, *vallādu* 'not being able', *vallāyma* 'inability'.

vall- as terinilai verb-base is represented by *kīdaṅṅaḷ vallıṉdidūmīlla*,

cf. Kauṭalīyam instances like *valli* 'having learnt', *vallumavaṉ*, and *vallīla* in a citation of Lil.

Examples of forms of *vall-* are available in Old Tam.: *vall-i, valluvōṉ* (Kuṟundogai) *vallumōr*, etc.

The forms of *val-* and of *vall-* sometimes govern accusative objects both on the west coast and in Middle Tamil.

ol- (or *oll-*) is also a "defective" terinilai verb-base, represented in Mal. by negative forms like *ollāññu, olladē, ollāda, uḻollāda bhūmi*; and the prohibitive-*ollā* which continued down till the 19th century. This text has many instances of *ollā*. Tam. has *olluvadu* (Puṟanāṉ.), *olvai* (Kuṟundogai), *olvadu* (Kuṟund.), *ollum*, and the negatives *ollāṉ, ollāy, ollēṉ, ollār, eṉmar, eṉmōṉ, eṉmadu, eṉmēḍam* (*eṉṉumēḍam*) represent old forms of *en-* in the present text.

16. The type of *vaḷar-kk-, uyar-kk-* exists here beside that of *vaḷartt-* and *uyartt-*

17. Tense-forms with and without personal endings occur. The expletives-*idu* and *-udu* are also common.

The personal endings (with the augment- *aṉ-aṉ-*) *-aṉ-eṉ, -aṉ -ai, -aṉ-aṉ,* and those like *vaṉaṅgiṉar, toḍaṅgiṉaṉ* appear to be Tamilisms.

The *y* of the second person singular ending *-āy* is often elided: *maṟannā, uḷavā, kaṇḍā.*

-aṉ as the personal ending for the first person future singular is quite frequent: *kaḷavaṉ*, etc. (see below).

18. The present tense ending is *-iṉd-* . There are no instances showing *g-iṉd-*.

19. *āyiṉēṉ, pōyiṉar, āyiṉa, āṉa, pōṉa* are old forms.

Past stems like *tāṇṇ-* (< *tāḷnn-*< *tāḷnd-*)*īṇṇ-, vāṇṇ-*, and *amiṇṇ-* occur.

The mss. show *kudaṟ-i-* and *kudaṟ-nnu-* as the past stems of *kudaṟ-*; similarly the older *eḻuninn-* and *eḻunētt-*appear side by side. The possibility of scribal interference cannot be ruled out here.

The occurrence of non-palatalised and palatalised stems like *vaitt-*and *vaicc-*has to be explained (as in other instances of the existence, side by side, of old forms and new developments) as due to the fact that both sets of forms may have been current in parts of Keraḷa in the transitional stages; cf. observations made *supra.*

20. The future with *-um* is used only for the third person non-rational singular and plural and third person rational

singular. For other persons, tense-forms with personal endings occur: First person: *konnīḍuvaṉ, oḻippaṉ, uraippaṉ* [with the singular ending-*aṉ* corresponding to Middle Tam. -*aṉ* and old Tam. -*al.*], *aṟiyittu-koḷvōm, oḍukkuvōm, igal kiṭṭuvōm* [with the plural ending -*ōm*, also Middle Tam.]; second person: *koḷvāy, ulavā(y)*; *iḻavāy* third person "rational" plural: *eṉmar, (emmar), uḷar-āvar.*

21. The mss. show besides *a* and *e* for the final vowel of the infinitives, a long *ā* also, particularly in pausal positions: *kaṇ-puṉal tuḷumbā, uraceyyā.*

cey-y-arudu, cey-y-ā, and *cey-y-ollā* are common; the elision of *a* of the infinitive is noteworthy. Old Tam. shows the first type in instances like *odukku-arum-, tuṉṉ-aruñ-curam, eṇṇ-ariya,* etc.—Negatives like *ceyyām-alla* also occur in this text.

22. The Relative Participles in constructions like the following are miniature predications and they have assumed their present function as the result of original non-rational plural predicates having been prefixed as viśeṣaṇas to their subjects: *civandaṉa muḻigaḷōḍum, ceydaṉa toḻilgaḷ* [where original past forms appear as relativals], *tūyō cilava* [where an originăl kuṟippuviṉai participial predicate *tūyava* is contracted to *tūyō* and used as a relatival], *naḍamāḍuvō cila kēkiṉam* [where a future participial does the duty of an adjectival]. Campu constructions like *pāriccō cila pāṟagaḷum, karaññō piḷḷagaḷum* where minor predications are effected through the prefixing of past participials which were originally predicates belong to this category. Dūtavākyam, Brahmāṇḍapurāṇam, Dēvīmāhātmyam and Uttararāmāyaṇam Gadyam show this type of construction with the present, past and future forms. The earlier Kauṭ. has forms in the future only: *āvō, ceyvō,* etc. (as predicates).

These forms appear as participial subjects also: *hastigaḷāvō kāliṅgādigaḷ.* If the analogy of *av-v-avō* <*av-v-ava* (*a o* on account of the bilabial, and lengthening of *ō* owing to emphasis) was active here, *ceyvō, avō,* etc. of Kauṭ, were from non-rational plurals *ceyva* etc. (*cf.* Old Tam. *ceyba,* Middle Tam. *ceyva*) which were at once finites and participials.

23. Another type of west coast constructions in this text is furnished by illustrations like the following in which the relative participles (with final *a* eleded) are followed by *oru*

(or *ōr*) and non-rational nouns (as viśēṣyas): (*nīḷa-p-*)*pōyoru* (*cōriyōḍu*), *coṉṉoru* (*nēram*), *eḷuvoru* (*nēram*).

In later stages of the west coast speech, both singulars and plurals, rationals and non-rationals came to be used as viśēṣyas. Though theoretically the combinations of past relative participles and *oru* are possible in Tamil, such combinations are non-existent in the literary dialects; on the other hand, the usual type of construction is the combination of the non-rational participial noun and *oru* (or *ōr*) followed by non-rational (very rarely, rational also in Middle Tamil) viśēṣyas. Thus Tam. type is represented in this text by instances like *mikkadōr tuyaram*, *muḷuttadoru cūlamuḍayōr*, *paḍarudaḍōr*, etc. There is no future relative participle as such in Tamil, and the west coast combinations of the type seem to have been due to analogy. The Tam. counterpart is of the type of *ceyvadoru*.

24. The concessive *oṉd-ēṉum* beside *cññāṉum* is noteworthy. Both—*āṉum* and *ēṉum* exist in Middle Tam., and I consider them to be modifications of *āyiṉum*.

25. Neuter future participial nouns with a gentle hortative force (as in Middle Tam. colloquial and in Kanaḍa): *koḍuppudē*, *tirivudu*, *pūvūdu*.

Participial nouns show *-adu*,*-idu*,*-udu*,*-ūdu* (for future forms like *ōḍūdu*, and analogically for others) and *-īdu* (for forms like *kittīdu*<*kiṭṭi-y-adu*, and by analogy for *taruvīdu* and *ceyvīdu*).

The types of *koḷvavar* (cf. Tam. *koḷbavar*) and *ceyyumavaṉ* (cf. Tam. *ceyyumōṉ* and *ceyyumavaṉ*) find representation here numerously.

26. Except in a few old forms like *ñāṉ uḷēṉ*, *collavallēṉ*, *aḍiyēṉ*, *aḍiyēññaḷ*, *iruvīrum* 'you two', this text shows only third personal appellatives: *vallōr*, *pollār*, *ollār*, *muṉṉēvar*, *kiḷakkēdu*, *aṉṉanaḍayāḷ*, *meṉcollāḷ*, *alagudu*.

27. The old "indeterminate" negative tense-forms with personal endings appear: *oṭṭēṉ*, *tērāy*, *aliyāṉ*, *tōḷādu*, *aṟiyār*, *aṟiyōm*, (*iva*) *cōpiyā*.

Unequivocal instances of tense-forms with-*ā* only (without personal endings) are *ceydadu pattā* and *uḍambu caliyā*. The form (*nī*) aṟiyā may be due to elision of *y* in *aṟiyāy*. The following instances in which the subjects are singular in form though capable of being interpreted as plural in meaning (accor-

ding to the spirit of an Old Tamil rule laid down in Tolkāppiyam) mark a transition stage which helped forward the association of negative forms (without personal endings) with singular subjects and then with rationals too: *kaṇṇīr nillā, vāṇāḷ cellā, nayaṉam iḷagā, tuyaram vārā, uvavi curuṅṅā.*

28. Other west coast forms: *ceydilla* (cf. Middle Tam. *ceydileṉ*, etc.), *vannilla, uṇarṉnīlla, kandilēṉ.* Future negatives like *koḷgilla, kūṟugilla* and *ceygilla.*

ceyga-y-illa (denoting the future): cf. the Middle Tam. collocations *ceygai-y-illai* and *ceygai-y-uṇḍu* (common in the Vaiṣṇavite commentaries): *irikka-y-illa, uraikkayillē, moḻiga-yillē.*

ceyvilla (denoting the future): the Middle Tam. counterpart shows only *ceyvadillai,* but collocations formed of *ceyvu-kāṇbu, naḍappu* with *illai* are possible in Tamil. *ceppuvilla, varuvilla, kāṇmilla* are Mal. instances.

29. Negative forms with tense-affixes annexed to bases with -*ā*: *aruḍāyiṉṉu* is the only instance here. Kauṭal. shows no instances of this type at all.

There are non-finite forms in this text: *aṟiv-illāyum-oru māyam, illāyumbōḷ, aṟiv-illāyvāṉ, ceṟukk-aṉuḍāyvāṉ, viḍāy-vadu, koḍāyvadiṉṉu.*

pōr iḷaikk-aṉ-miṉ looks like a Tamilism.

30. Miscellaneous.

(i) *aḷavu* and -*aḷavil* for denoting '(measure of) time', besides -*aḷavum*, -*aḷam*, -*aḷa*, -*oḷam*, and the development -*ōḷam*, all meaning 'till' 'up to the time when'. The hesitancy of forms continued down till the period of the Paṇikkars.

(ii) *adē-y-um-alla* (cf. a similar form in Kauṭ.) shows a restrictive *ē*. In modern *adē,* on the other hand, *ē* originally was restrictive, then became an emphatic particle without special reference to things restricted, and then faded out into an expletive.

The difference between tēṟṟam *ē* and pirinilai *ē* becomes conspicuous only when the contexts bring out the restriction or exclusion *prominently.* Since emphasis is always on negation (or exclusion) of the opposite of what is posited, the element of exclusion is always inherent in emphasis. This is why Nemināḍam regards pirinilai *ē* as a branch of the category of tēṟṟam.

(iii) The mss. show *ittaṉa, ittiṉa, ittira, attaṉa attiṉa, attrē*; *orikkāl* (cf. Tam. *orukkāl*) and *orikkal.*

(iv) *allō, allē* and *allī* (as in *ill-allī, all-allī*) are all here.

(v) The help-verb-*iḍ-* appears as such when associated with past stems having final-*u-m* as in *cenn-iḍ-*, and as-*īḍ-* when associated with past stems having-*i* as in *tōnnīḍ-*. Analogy has given rise to forms like *cenn-īḍ-* also. Certain mss. show *colliṭṭu,* etc. where counter-analogy has been active (cf. Middle Tam.)

(*vi*) *madi* 'sufficiency' 'satisfaction' is perhaps the meaning in two contexts: *madi vannudilla,* and *uḍal muḻuppu madi-y-illa, madi* has other meanings in *madi keṭṭ-, madiye-nniyē* (*madi-y-illāda viravōḍu* 'with incalculable haste,' *madi-y-illā vidavagaḷ* 'widows besides themselves (with grief), *eṉṉuḷḷil-īḍum-attal madikku ninnudilla* 'the sorrow accumulating in my heart could not be contained.) The collocations *madi-y-āg-, madi var-*and *madi pōr* 'to be sufficient' and the word *madi* used alone for 'enough' are not to be found here. *madi pōnnu, madi vannu, madi-y-āyi* were originally used as intransitive constructions with *madi* as subject but later became associated together as compound verbs with other words as subjects, as in *madi pōrum niṉṉuḍe vilayāṭṭam* (KR) and *madipōrum niṉṉuḍe vīryaṅṅaḷ* (El).

The occurrence, frequency or absence of grammatical types in long texts like Rāmacaritam and Kauṭalīyam do provide a presumptive value for their antiquity. If these texts, along with the fourteenth century Līl., are examined together comparatively, the perspective emerges that Rāmacaritam has linguistic features neither so old as those of Kauṭalīyam nor so "late" as those of Līl. Here are the relevant data:

Kauṭ.	*Rāmacaritam*	*Līlātilakam*
Fourth case forms like *eṉku, endiṉku* beside *marattiṉukku* and *marattiṉu*	*-ṉ-ku, -iṉ-ku* absent.— *-ṉ-u-kku -iṉ-u-kku* beside *-ṉ-u* and *-iṉ-u*	only-*ṉ-u* *-iṉ-u* .
Fifth case *iṉ-il,* also used in the seventh case	*iṉ-il* only in the seventh case	no-*iṉ-* *-il* at all
Sixth case *uḍaya* and *uḍe, iḍe*	only-*uḍe* and rarely-*iḍe*	*uḍe, iḍe, -ṉ-d-e*
Rarity of qualificatory *ē*	Rarity	Frequency

Present tense endings *g-iṉd-* and *-iṉd*	only-*iṉd-*	*-iṉd-*
No negative tenses with tense-affixes annexed to neg. base with *-ā*.	*arudāyinnu, arudāyvāṉ illāyum*, etc.	*tārayum-ō*, etc.
Old Indeterminate negative finites with personal endings	Beginnings of Negative finites with *ā*	*pirāṭṭi tārā*
ceyvidoru type	*ceyvorū* beside *ceyvidoru*	Both types

Other details roughly fit into the above picture. So, one has to "place" Rāmacaritam somewhere between the period of the language of Kauṭalīyam and that of the linguistic evolution of the native elements of the maṇipravāḷa envisaged by Līlātilakam and reflected in early works like Uṇṇinīlīsandēśam.

THE CONCEPT OF PRAUḌHOKTI IN ALAṄKĀRAŚĀSTRA

BY

K. A. SUBRAMANIA IYER,

Professor of Sanskrit, University of Lucknow.

In the development of any system of thought, fine distinctions play an important part. This is as true of the alaṅkāra-śāstra as of any of the darśanas. In the Dhvani system, for example, certain fundamental distinctions are made and one has to understand the full implication of these distinctions if one wants to understand the system at all. The distinctions between अविवक्षितवाच्य and विवक्षितान्यपरवाच्य ; असंलक्ष्यक्रम and संलक्ष्यक्रम ; शब्दशक्त्युद्भव and अर्थशक्त्युद्भव ; वस्तु, अलंकार and रसादि ; अभिधामूल and लक्षणामूल ; अर्थान्तरसंक्रमित and अत्यन्ततिरस्कृत ; अभिधा, लक्षणा and व्यंजना, all these distinctions are fundamental in the Dhvani system. Another distinction which is mentioned in the earliest work on the Dhvani system, namely, the Dhvanyāloka of Ānandavardhana, is that of the suggestive element in poetry into स्वतः संभवि and प्रौढोक्तिनिष्पन्न. What is the basis of this distinction and how is it related to the other distinctions and principles of the Dhvani system?

Before answering this question, let us consider the distinction between वस्तु and अलंकार. By 'vastu' is meant any plain unvarnished idea or thought or statement. It may or may not be thought or statement of an actual fact existing outside the mind. The essential thing about it is that it is just a plain thought or statement. When we just say something about something else, we are giving expression to 'vastu'. It does not matter whether what we say is positive or negative, whether it is true or false. Both affirmations and negations would come under 'vastu'[1]. It is easy to see that a good proportion of our statements in everyday life and those of poets in their poems give expression to 'vastu'. This can be illustrated from the works of any Sanskrit poet. "King

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(1) स च विधिनिषेधाद्यनेकप्रकारो वस्तुशब्देनोच्यते

Locana on Dhvanyāloka, p. 50 (Kashi Samskrit Series No. 135).

Dilīpa and Queen Sudakṣiṇā touched the feet of Vasiṣṭha and Arundhatī who, being pleased, gave them their blessings"[1]. This is a good example of 'vastu'. It just states facts or presents certain things as facts, without adorning them in any way. The poet here has not used his imagination or fancy to beautify these facts in any way. "While the divine sage Aṅgiras was speaking thus, Pārvatī, seated near her father with her bent head counted the lotus-petals with which she was playing". So says Kālidāsa in his Kumārasaṁbhava[2] and the whole of it is 'vastu'. It is not necessary to go to poetry to find examples of 'vastu'. No matter in what language we speak, we are most of the time giving expression to simple thoughts or understanding simple thoughts from the words of others. Usually we express them in sentences consisting of two or more words, but this is not a necessary condition. What we understand when somebody says 'yes' to our question is as good a 'vastu' as any which we may understand from a long sentence consisting of many words.

What 'vastu' is can be better understood if one contrasts it with 'alaṅkāra' or a picturesque idea or statement. An idea which has been made picturesque in any way by the fancy or imagination of the speaker is an 'alaṅkāra'. Ideas become picturesque when they involve some kind of striking comparison or contrast between any two things in the world. Thus when Kālidāsa, after having first declared his own inadequacy to the task of describing the exploits of the kings of the solar dynasty says that perhaps he would be able to accomplish it by following the path made for him by earlier poets as the thread enters the diamond through the hole made by the borer,[3] he is giving expression to an idea made picturesque by the striking comparison which it contains. It required the imagination of

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(1) तयोर्जगृहतुः पादान् राजा राज्ञी च मागधी ।
तौ गुरुर्गुरुपत्नी च प्रीत्या प्रतिननन्दतुः ॥

Raghuvaṁśa, I. 57.

(2) एवं वादिनि देवर्षौ पार्श्वे पितुरधोमुखी ।
लीलाकमलपत्राणि गणयामास पार्वती ॥

Kumārasaṁbhava, VI. 84.

(3) अथवा कृतवाग्द्वारे वंशेऽस्मिन् पूर्वसूरिभिः ।
मणौ वज्रसमुत्कीर्णे सूत्रस्येवास्ति मे गतिः ॥

Raghuvaṁśa I, 4.

a Kālidāsa to see the resemblance and it is the resemblance which makes the idea picturesque. One can quite see the difference between this and a plain unvarnished idea such as the one given before. For an idea or a statement to become picturesque, it is not always necessary that it should involve comparison or contrast between two things. In what is called वक्रोक्ति, there is a deliberate misunderstanding of the question followed by a witty answer. The question: "Who in the world made your heart so hard?" (दारुणा) evokes the answer: "We have heard that the heart is made of the three guṇas, but not that it is made of wood (दारुणा)[1]. This idea does not involve any comparison or contrast between any two things in the world. With all that, there is in it a certain picturesqueness or विच्छित्ति,[2] as our writers sometimes call it and विच्छित्ति is just what is lacking in a mere 'vastu'. The mere addition of a significant epithet as in परिकर,[3] the presentation of a relation of cause and effect as in काव्यलिङ्ग[4] and कारणमाला[5], of some inner contradiction or incongruity as in विषम[6] and असंगति[7] can also

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(1) अहो केनेदृशी बुद्धिर्दारुणा तव निर्मिता ।
त्रिगुणा श्रूयते बुद्धिर्न तु दारुमयी क्वचित् ॥
Alaṅkārasarvasva, p. 221. (Nirṇaya Sāgar Edition).

(2) अलंकारो विच्छित्तिः इत्येव खलु वस्त्वलंकारयोर्विभागकक्ष्या । यदा जातिगुणादिकोऽर्थो वैचित्र्यविरहाल्लौकिकभावेन व्यवस्थितस्तदा वस्तुमात्रमुच्यते । तदेव सविच्छित्तिकमलंकार इति ।
(Sampradāya pradarśinī on Kāvyaprakāśa, Vol. I, p. 152 (T. S. S. Edition).

(3) सुधांशुकलितोत्तंसस्तापं हरतु वः शिवः ।
(Kuvalayānanda, p. 71. Nirṇaya Sāgara Edition).

(4) जितोऽसि मन्द कन्दर्प मच्चित्तेऽस्ति त्रिलोचनः ।
(*Ibid*, p. 127).

(5) नयेन श्रीः श्रिया त्यागस्त्यागेन विपुलं यशः ।
(*Ibid*, p. 17).

(6) क्वेयं शिरीषमृद्वङ्गी क्व तावान् मदनज्वरः ।
(*Ibid*, p. 105).

(7) अहो खलभुजङ्गस्य विचित्रोऽयं वधक्रमः ।
अन्यस्य दशति श्रोत्रमन्यः प्राणैर्वियुज्यते ॥
(*Ibid*, p. 102).

have a picturesqueness which would entitle it to the name of अलंकार. The 'vicchitti' which distinguishes an 'alaṅkāra' from 'vastu' is the result of the poet's poetic gift, his 'pratibhā'. An idea possessing 'vicchitti' is प्रतिभानिर्वर्तित. That which does not possess it is लौकिकभावेन व्यवस्थित:, "as it is in the world", The poet's imagination has done nothing to it.

Both these things, 'vastu' and 'alaṅkāra' can be the first or the second or the only meaning of a passage. Both can be conveyed by अभिधा or by व्यंजना. When they are conveyed by अभिधा and are the first meanings of a passage they become responsible for conveying the second meaning. They are then said to be व्यंजक and the second meaning which they suggest is व्यंग्य. Thus there are four possibilities: (1) both the व्यंजक and the व्यंग्य meanings are 'vastu' (2) both are alaṅkāra (3) the first is वस्तु and the second alaṅkāra and (4) the first is alaṅkāra and the second वस्तु. In their capacity as व्यंजक, i.e., when they happen to be the first meaning of a passage, the śāstra makes a further distinction. They can be either स्वत:संभवि or कविप्रौढोक्तिनिष्पन्न. It is this distinction which we have now to grasp. We saw above that 'vastu' is something in the production of which the poet's imagination does not play a great part. It is a simple unvarnished idea. It presents a thing as it exists in the world and not as the poet's imagination shapes it. How then can it be कविप्रौढोक्तिसिद्ध? This is one question. Secondly we saw above that 'vicchitti' is the very life of an 'alaṅkāra' and 'vicchitti' is the result of the influence of the poet's imagination. It is always कविप्रतिभानिर्वर्तित. And yet an 'alaṅkāra' can also be स्वत:संभवि or कविप्रौढोक्तिनिष्पन्न. How is this possible? Is there any difference between कविप्रतिभानिर्वर्तित and कविप्रौढोक्तिनिष्पन्न? Apparently not. Consider how Mammaṭa explains प्रौढोक्तिमात्रात सिद्ध: । He says: कविना प्रतिभामात्रेण बहिरसन्नपि निर्मित: Thus there is a close connection between the two ideas. But there must be some difference too, because an alaṅkāra which is always प्रतिभानिर्वर्तित is sometimes not प्रौढोक्तिमात्रनिष्पन्न.

To understand these distinctions it is necessary to see what meaning has been given to the word प्रौढोक्ति by the different

writers who have used the word and who have given illustrations of it. The word is used in different contexts in the śāstra of which the following three are noteworthy:—

1. It is one of the alaṅkāras recognised by such writers as Jayadeva, Appayya Dīkṣita and Jagannātha.

2. It is used by Ruyyaka (or Maṅkhaka) while he is explaining the views of Bhaṭṭanāyaka on poetry.

3. It is used in Dhvanyāloka, Kāvyaprakāśa and other works explaining the Dhvani system in connection with the explanation of the nature of the meaning which is suggestive (व्यंजक) in Dhvani.

1. It is only in comparatively later works that is recognised as a separate 'alaṅkāra'. Jayadeva in his Candrāloka, Appayya Dīkṣita in his Kuvalayānanda and Jagannātha in his Rasagaṅgādhara do so and their definitions of it substantially agree. For Jayadeva, it consists in attributing to something a capacity which it does not possess. "Growing on the banks of Kālindī, the Sarala trees are dark."[1] For Appayya Dīkṣitā, the essence of it is to declare something as the cause of a peculiarity while it is really not so. "Hair which is dark like tamāla trees growing on the banks of the Kālindī"[2]. In both these examples, the darkness of the trees is attributed to the fact of their growing on the banks of the Kālindī. This is just a free statement of the speaker and does not correspond to reality. Jagannātha, with his passion for analysis and accuracy, puts the whole thing thus: For him, it consists in imagining a relation with something known to possess a certain attribute in order to explain the presence of that attribute elsewhere. To explain the reviving and compelling qualities of the king's glances, the poet says that they have been made of drops of nectar mixed with medicinal herbs. Nectar possesses reviving properties and medicinal herbs possess compelling qualities. As the king's

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(1) प्रौढोक्तिस्तदशक्तस्य तच्छक्तत्वावकल्पनम् ।
कलिन्दजातीरुहाः श्यामलाः सरलद्रुमाः ॥
Candrāloka, p. 53 (Gujarāthi Printing Press Edition).

(2) प्रौढोक्तिरुत्कर्षाहेतौ तद्धेतुत्वप्रकल्पनम् ।
कचाः कलिन्दजातीरतमालस्तोममेचकाः ॥
Kuvalayānanda, p. 135 (N. S. Edition).

glances possess both, their mixture is conceived of as the material out of which the king's glances were produced. This particular relationship of material and product does not exist outside the poet's mind. It is his invention. Jagannātha adds the significant remark that the peculiarity in one thing which is due to contact with something else must be suggested and not expressed. Otherwise the whole passage would become an example of समालंकार.[2] The only thing which we have to note in the treatment of this ālankāra by these three writers is that, according to them, the speaker makes a statement which does not correspond to facts. He makes a bold statement, प्रौढा उक्तिः । Hence the figure is called प्रौढोक्तिः ।

This is certainly an old meaning of the word, even when it is not used as the name of an alankāra. In the Alankārasarvasva, the author sums up, in a very brief manner, the views of Bhaṭṭanāyaka on poetry. He says that Bhaṭṭanāyaka who had declared the व्यंग्य which he accepts through प्रौढोक्ति to be only an element in poetry maintains that it is the व्यापार which is the most important thing in poetry, words and meanings being subordinate.[3] What is meant by accepting व्यंजन through प्रौढोक्ति ? On this point, there is an interesting remark of Jayaratha, the commentator of Alankārasarvasva. He says that प्रौढोक्त्या means: "without defining it". The प्रौढत्व of a statement consists just in this that it accepts something as true

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(1) कस्मिंश्चिदर्थे किंचिद्धर्मकृतातिशयप्रतिपिपादयिषया प्रसिद्धतद्धर्मवता संसर्गस्योद्भावनं प्रौढोक्तिः ।.......

मन्थाचलभ्रमणवेगवशंवदा ये
दुग्धांबुधेरुदपतन्नणवः सुधायाः ।
तैरेकतामुपगतैर्विविधौषधीभि-
र्धाता ससर्ज तव देव दयादृगन्तान् ॥

(Rasagaṅgādhara, p. 671, N. S. Edition 1939).

(2) अत्र च धर्मिविशेषसंसर्गातिशयो धर्म्यन्तरगतो यद्यागूरणविषयस्तदैवायमलंकारः । वाच्यवृत्त्या तत्प्रयुक्तत्वेनाभिहितश्चेत् समालंकारस्यैव विषयः ।

(*Ibid.* p. 671).

(3) भट्टनायकेन तु व्यंग्यव्यापारस्य प्रौढोक्त्याभ्युपगतस्य काव्यांशत्वं ब्रुवता न्यग्भावितशब्दार्थस्वरूपस्य व्यापारस्यैव प्राधान्यमुक्तम् ।

(Alankārasarvasva, p. 10. Nirnaya Sagara Press).

which cannot be defined.[1] Apparently, Bhaṭṭanāyaka was one of those who held that Dhvani or व्यंजना may exist, but it is undefinable and therefore does not come within the range of speech. Anybody who undertakes to speak about it and define it and describe it is indulging in प्रौढोक्ति, he is talking about something which he does not know very well, he is making a bold statement, प्रौढा उक्तिः। So the meaning which we saw before can be traced here also.

But it is the use of the word in the context of Dhvani with which we we are really concerned. The first suggestive meaning of a passage can be, first of all, a वस्तु or an 'alaṅkāra'. Each one of these can be स्वतःसंभवि or प्रौढोक्तिनिष्पन्न. If the thing described can have an existence outside the speaker's mind also and is not merely a creation of his mind it is स्वतः संभवि. If otherwise, it is प्रौढोक्तिनिष्पन्न। In the verse सज्जेहि सुरहिमासो etc. the main idea is that the spring merely gets ready, but does not deliver cupid's arrows whose targets are young ladies and which consist mainly of mango blossoms.[2] This way of putting it or this statement (उक्ति) that spring, the arrow-maker, merely gets ready for Cupid the archer, but does not deliver the arrows in the form of flowers is particularly capable (प्रौढा or कुशला) of conveying the suggested meaning that love is just coming into being and will gradually increase in intensity. The basic idea, free from all embellishment by the poet, is that in spring mango blossoms come out together with tender leaves. But this idea has not got the same suggestiveness. It had to be transformed by the speaker's imagination and the transformation consists in making spring चेतन (though it is really अचेतन) cupid an archer, flowers into arrows and young ladies into targets. Ānandavardhana gives another verse where a similar

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(1) कैश्चिदप्यस्य वागविषयत्वादलक्षणीयत्वमुक्तमित्याह भट्टनायकेनेत्यादि। प्रौढोक्त्येति। न पुनर्लक्षणकरणेन। अत एवोक्तेः प्रौढत्वं यल्लक्षयितुमशक्यं तस्याप्यभ्युपगमः ॥

Ibid. p. 10.

(2) सज्जेइ सुरहिमासो ण दाव अप्पेइ जुअइजणलक्खमुहे।
अहिणवसअआरमुहे णवपल्लवपत्तले अणङ्गस्स शरे ॥
Dhvanyāloka, p. 235 (Kashi Sanskrit Series, No. 135).

idea is expressed, but without this प्रौढोक्तिः "Once the spring begins, all of a sudden appear longings of lovers together with mango-blossoms."[1] What is suggested in the previous verse by the प्रौढोक्ति of the poet is here openly stated (रागवतामुत्कलिका:) and that accounts for the comparative dullness of this verse. As Abhinava puts it: शब्दस्पृष्टेऽर्थे का हृद्यता ?[2] Even though the basic idea has been transformed by the प्रौढोक्ति of the poet, there is no 'alaṅkāra' here. On this point, there is agreement among all writers. The verse in question is an example of the suggestiveness of वस्तु, but प्रौढोक्तिसिद्धवस्तु. In the other examples of the same thing given in the Dhvanyāloka or other works on Alaṅkāraśāstra, there is usually a description of something non-human acting like a human. In one of these examples, the lover, on seeing the parrot bite the red 'bimba' fruit, asks the beloved "On what mountain did this parrot perform austerities and of what kind and for how long that he should now be able to taste the fruit red like your lips"[3]. Here also the idea of a parrot performing austerities on a mountain is a product of the speaker's imagination and there is nothing corresponding to it outside his mind. With all that, it has not become an 'alaṅkāra'. But it is clear that such bold statements (प्रौढोक्ति) presuppose a certain amount of प्रतिभा on the part of the person who makes them. These statements are, therefore, not only प्रौढोक्तिमात्र, they are also प्रतिभानिर्वर्तित. We have seen how some bold statements came to be recognised as 'alaṅkāras' in later times, those in which something which is not a cause is presented by implication as a cause. In the examples which we have just now considered, this has not taken place and that is why this प्रौढोक्ति is not an alaṅkāra. It only brings about a

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(1) सुरभिसमये प्रवृत्ते सहसा प्रादुर्भवन्ति रमणीयाः ।
रागवतामुत्कलिकाः सहैव सहकारकलिकाभिः ॥
Dhvanyāloka, p. 528 (Kashi Sanskrit Series, 135).

(2) *Ibid.* p. 528.

(3) शिखरिणि क्व नु नाम कियच्चिरं
किमभिधानमसावकरोत्तपः ।
तरुणि येन तवाधरपाटलं
दशति बिंबफलं शुकशावकः ॥
Dhvanyāloka, p. 138 (K. S. S. 135)

'vastu'. But this may only be the convention of a particular culture. Such bold statements may be looked upon as an 'alaṅkāra' or figures of speech in another critical tradition.

We have seen that an idea is looked upon as प्रौढोक्तिसिद्ध if it is merely the product of the speaker's imagination and has nothing corresponding to it outside his mind. If, in addition to being such a product, it also assumes one of the forms which have been recognised as alaṅkāras, then it becomes प्रौढोक्तिसिद्धालंकार. One of these forms is called उत्प्रेक्षा, the essence of which is that in it the speaker makes an imaginative interpretation of reality. Nowhere is the play of the speaker's fancy or imagination so clear as in उत्प्रेक्षा. And yet even an उत्प्रेक्षा can be स्वतःसंभवि or प्रौढोक्तिसिद्ध. The following example will make this clear: (1) "When he rose to embrace her, her pride (māna) as though afraid of being squashed, quietly slipped out of her heart".[1] (2) "Hail to the Poetic Muse, seated on the lotus of the poet's mouth, who, as though to mock at Brahmā, presents a different world altogether."[2] In both the above examples, there is on the part of the poet, a fanciful interpretation of a natural fact. In the first example, the disappearance of pride under the circumstances mentioned is the fact which is interpreted. In the second one, the deviation from reality of the poet's creation is the fact which is interpreted. In both, the interpretation is such that there cannot be anything corresponding to it in reality. Pride being afraid of being squashed can only be a poet's fancy. The Poet's Muse wishing to mock at Brahma is equally so. Both these ideas have the form of interpretation (संभावना) They are, therefore, both प्रौढोक्तिसिद्धोत्प्रेक्षा. But such an imaginative interpretation may yet have some reality corresponding to it. When the lover says: "Your feet are red as though

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(1) गाढालिंगणरहसुज्जु उम्मिद्धए लघुं समोसरइ ।
माणंसिणीण माणो पीलणभीअ त्व हिअआहिं ॥

Kāvya Prakāśa, p. 141. (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona).

(2) जाठेरं व हसन्ती कइअणंबुरुहबद्धविणिवेसा ।
दावेइ भुअणमण्डलमण्णं विअइ जअइ सा वाणी ॥

Kāvya Prakāśa, p. 142 (B. O. R. I., Poona).

through constant stamping on the ground "[1], we can see that even outside the poet's fancy feet can become red through constant stamping. It is clear that only he who has 'pratibhā' is capable of producing a beautiful interpretation of a natural fact, but when it is allied to fancy, the result is an interpretation which has nothing corresponding to it in reality. It is not only उत्प्रेक्षा which can be the product of प्रौढोक्ति, Rūpaka can also be one. When the poet says to his patron, the king: "Your sword, the snake which takes a delight in drinking milk in the form of the lives of your simple enemies ",[2] the identification of sword and snake con only be a product of fancy and it has assumed the from of a Rūpaka. The identification of two things which are different from each other is the essence of Rūpaka and it is only natural that the poet's 'prauḍhokti' should play a part in it. The alaṅkāra Hetu can be प्रौढोक्तिसिद्ध too. "The necklace, being of a good jāti, does not budge ".[3] The necklace is made of pearls of good quality (jāti). This is identified with the idea of belonging to a good caste ('jāti') and is given as the reason for not budging. Such a reason can only be the fancy of the poet. But sometimes the 'hetu' can be स्वतःसिद्ध. "As I am born in this world, it is clear, O Purāri, that I did not worship you in my previous existence. Please excuse me for the sin".[4] Here not worshipping Śiva in the previous existence is presented as the cause of the sin. It is not a mere fancy of the poet. That one who is not 'mukta' may be born again in this world is an accepted idea and the poet is only making use of it.

In all the examples given above, one can see that the concept of प्रौढोक्तिसिद्ध differs from that of स्वतःसंभवि on the one hand and from that of कविप्रतिभानिर्वर्तित on the other. This is the position which is accepted by most writers. The only exceptions are Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra, who see प्रौढोक्ति even in स्वतःसंभवि and developing this idea, they virtu-

(1) रक्तौ तवांघ्री सततं भुविविक्षेपणाद् ध्रुवम् ।
(Kuvalayānanda, p. 32, N. S. Edition).

(2) मुग्धारिप्राणदुग्धाशनमसृणरुचिस्त्वत्कृपाणो भुजङ्गः ।
(Rasagaṅgādhara, p. 171 (N. S. Edition, 1939).

(3) विसुद्धजाईण चलइ से हारो ।
Kāvyaprakāśa, p. 160 (B. O. R. I.).

(4) Kāvyaprakāśa, p. 678 (B. O. R. I. Edition).

ally do away with the distinction between प्रतिभा and प्रौढि while explaining the alaṅkāra called Jāti (another name for स्वभावोक्ति. Hemacandra points out that the pratibhā of a poet is like निर्विकल्पप्रत्यक्ष. It sees the distinctive features and characteristics of a thing and the description of these as seen by the poet constitues what is called 'Jāti'. Besides these distinctive features objects have also common ordinary features (सामान्य) but a description of these alone would not constitute poetry. They are really the अलङ्कार्य, the thing to be adorned. So, even when a thing is described as it is in the world, the poet has to describe its distinctive features and not its common features. It requires the imagination of a poet to see them. For one who is not a poet, these distinctive features are as good as non-existent. If what is called स्वतःसंभवि वस्तु stands for these distinctive features of an object, perceptible only by a sensitive mind like that of a poet's, then it is also the product of the poet's 'pratibhā', it is कविप्रतिभानिर्वर्तित. It is this pratibhā which is called कविप्रौढि and it plays a part, not only in seeing the actually existing distinctive features of a thing (स्वतःसंभवि वस्तु) but also in creating purely imaginative features. The distinctive features of an object, visible only to a gifted poet, constitute its स्वभाव and their description is what is called स्वभावोक्ति. For Hemachandra what is called स्वतःसंभवि वस्तु is this स्वभाव and therefore, it is the product of कविप्रौढि. In this way of looking at things, the distinction between प्रौढि and प्रतिभा disappears. The earliar 'ālankārikas' had made a distinction between the gift of being able to see actually existing distinctive features of a thing and that of creating imaginative features. For Hemacandra, this distinction is not sufficiently important for making a distinction between प्रतिभा and प्रौढि. In putting forward this new way of looking at things, he quotes some verses from the Vyaktiviveka of Mahimabhaṭṭa, where the recognition of स्वभवोक्ति as a distinct alaṅkāra is justified. Mahimā explains स्वभाव as the distinctive features of a thing visible only to a poet.[1] Hemachandra

(28). कविप्रतिभया निर्विकल्पकप्रत्यक्षकल्पया विषयीकृता वस्तुस्वभावा यत्रोपवर्ण्यन्ते स जातेर्विषयः । एवं च "अलंकारकृतां येषां स्वभावोक्तिरलंकृतिः ।

applies this definition of स्वभाव to the distinction between स्वतःसंभवि and प्रौढोक्तिसिद्ध. Māṇikyacandra does no more than repeat the words of Hemacandra on this point. According to both, the principle of प्रौढोक्ति will explain all the suggestive meanings of poetry and there is no need for dividing it into three as the early Dhvanivādins do or even into two as some writers like Jagannātha Paṇḍita do.

अलंकार्यतया तेषां किमन्यदवशिष्यते ॥ इति यत् कैश्चित् प्रतिपादितम् तन्निरस्तमेव । वस्तुनो हि सामान्यस्वभावो लौकिकोऽर्थोऽलङ्कार्यः । कविप्रतिभासंरम्भविशेषविषयस्तु लोकोत्तरार्थोऽलङ्करणमिति । तथा चाह 'उच्यते वस्तुनस्तावद् द्वैरूप्यमिह विद्यते । तत्रैकमन्यसामान्यं यद्विकल्पैकगोचरः । स एव सर्वशब्दानां विषयः परिकीर्तितः । अत एवाभिधीयन्ते ध्यामलं बोधमन्त्यलम् । विशिष्टमस्य यद् रूपं तत्प्रत्यक्षस्य गोचरः । स एव सत्कविगिरां गोचरः प्रातिभाभुवाम् ॥ यतः "रसानुगुणशब्दार्थचिन्तास्तिमितचेतसः । क्षणं स्वरूपस्पर्शोत्था प्रज्ञैव प्रतिभा कवेः । सा हि चक्षुर्भगवतस्तृतीयमिति गीयते । येन साक्षात्करोत्येष भावांस्त्रैकाल्यवर्तिनः । अस्य स्वभावस्योक्तिर्या सालङ्कारतया मता । यतः साक्षादिवाभान्ति तत्रार्थाः प्रतिभार्पिताः ।

Hemacandra—Kāvyānuśāsana, p. 330 (Nirṇaya Sāgara Edition, 1934).

A QUOTATION IN THE LOCANA OF ABHINAVAGAPTA

Dr. V. Raghavan

In his Locana on Uddyota One of the Dhvanyāloka, p. 48, N. S. Press edn., p 245, KSRI. edn., Abhinavagupta makes the quatation 'गामश्वं पुरुषं पशुम्.' While preparing the Index to the KSRI. edn. of the Dhvanyāloka with Locana etc., (Uddyota One), I gave for this the reference 'Atharvaveda 8.7.11', where such a line occurs. The identification caused some difficulty and I was not quite satisfied with the reference to Ath. V. 8.7.11 which alone I could give then.

I have now been able to find the source where from Abhinavagupta must have quoted it. It is in the course of his commentary on the expression 'वाच्यवाचकसंमिश्रः शब्दात्मा काव्यम्' in Ānandavardhana's text that Abhinavagupta quotes this passage. Abhinavagupta's characteristic mano-dharma comes into play here, and he interprets the original as meaning that all the four are called Dhvani, the Vācya, Vā.aka, their Sammiśra or the Vyaṅgya that results from the union of Vibhāva, Anubhāva etc., and lastly Śabda or Śabdana, *i.e.* the Vyañjanā vyāpāra.

"वाच्यवाचकसहितः संमिश्र इति मध्यमपदलोपी समासः । 'गामश्वं पुरुषं पशुम' इतिवत् समुच्चयोऽत्र चकारेण विनापि । तेन वाच्योऽपि ध्वनिः, वाचकः शब्दोऽपि ध्वनिः, * * संमिश्रितः (or संमिश्यते) विभावानुभाव-संवलनयेति व्यङ्ग्योऽपि ध्वनिः * * शब्दनं शब्दः शब्दव्यापारः * * सोऽपि ध्वननाद् ध्वनिः । * *

For such an interpretation, the word 'ca' would appear to be necessary to join the expressions वाच्यवाचकसंमिश्रश्च शब्दात्मा च । But Abhinavagupta says that there are expressions giving a cumulative sense even without the use of 'ca' and it is to illustrate this that he cites the expression 'गामश्वं पुरुषं पशुम्' with the explanation इतिवत्समुच्चयोऽत्र चकारेण विनापि ।

In view of the point involved in this illustration I think it is from the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali and a verse quoted there. in that Abhinavagupta is making his citation. In Pāṇini 2.2.29

चार्थे द्वन्द्वः and the Vārttika thereon चार्थे द्वन्द्ववचनेऽसमासेऽपि चार्थसंप्रत्ययादनिष्टप्रसङ्गः, Patañjali says:—

> चार्थे द्वन्द्ववचनेऽसमासेऽपि चार्थसंप्रत्ययादनिष्टं प्राप्नोति ।
> अहरहर्नयमानो गामश्वं पुरुषं पशुम् * ।
> वैवस्वतो न तृप्यति सुराया इव दुर्मदी ॥

Keilhorn's edn., Vol. I. p. 431.

* This line is quoted anonymously in Kṣīrasvāmin's Nipātāvyayopasargavṛtti (Madras MS) also.

A NOTE ON THE REIGN OF KHOṬṬIGA

BY

PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

It is well-known that in the reign of Khoṭṭiga the Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital Mānyakhēṭa was raided and plundered by the Paramāra king Harṣa Sīyaka. A clause in the celebrated Śravana Beḷgola Epitaph of Mārasiṁha II, the Ganga Feudatory of Khoṭṭiga, states that Mārasiṁha protected the emperor's camp on this occasion. Fleet read it as follows[1]:—

> Bhuja-baḷa-paripāḷita-Mānyakhēṭa-pravēśita-
> cakravarti-kaṭakasya

and translated into "Who by the strength of his arm protected the encampment of the Emperor, when it was located at the city of Mānyakhēṭa". He added a note under the word "Pravēśita" saying: "Mr. Rice's text has "Pravēśita, which of course, at once suggested pravāsita 'expelled (from Mānyakhēṭa)'. The real reading is quite clear". The lithograph accompanying Fleet's edition clearly shows the reading 'pravāśita' and, pace Fleet, I prefer the emendation 'pravāsita' to 'pravēśita'. For the latter would mean that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa camp was made to enter Mānykhēṭa, but Mānyakhēṭa was the capital of the kingdom and the regular residence of the Emperor. Fleet's translation that the encampment was located at Mānyakhēṭa does not do full justice to the word. It may be suggested indeed that Khoṭṭiga was compelled to confine himself within the walls of Mānykheṭa by the invading Paramāra armies but then Mārasiṁha is said to have successfully protected the Emperor's camp which is exactly what no one was able to do to Mānyakhēṭa which on that occasion had to be abandoned to the enemy and was thoroughly plundered by him. So we have to assume that as a result of the Paramāra invasion the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king was compelled to abandon his capital and remove his camp to some place further south where Mārasiṁha was able to stabilise the defence. Pravāsita, 'expelled', seems therefore to be the correct reading of the word.

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1. EI. V. p. 176, line 12.

A TEXTUAL NOTE ON BṚHATKATHĀKOŚA

B. CH. CHHABRA, *Ootacamund*

Ācārya Hariṣeṇa's *Bṛhatkathākośa* is a collection of 157 edifying stories that glorify the Jaina faith. The work dates from 932 A. C. Its language is Sanskrit and composition metrical throughout. Here and there it quotes a verse from elsewhere by way of illustration. Verse 78 of the tenth story, entitled *Somaśarma-Vāriṣeṇa-sthirīkaraṇa-kathānaka*, is one such quotation. In the printed text,[1] it reads:

Yān=īha dattāni purā narendrair
dānāni dharm-ārtha-yaśaskarāṇi |
Nirmālya-vat saṁprati mānitāni
ko nāma sādhuḥ punar ādadīta ||

The third line of this stanza is plainly a misfit here. It does not make a good sense. Possibly the reading given in the available manuscripts was doubtful, and the editor obviously had no means of restoring the correct text here. The verse in question, it may be pointed out, occurs in its correct form in many an old copper charter, along with other exhortative stanzas customary to land grants.[2] The genuine reading of the third quarter, as found there, is *nirmālya-vānta-pratimāni tāni*.

It may readily be recognised that the word *vānta* was elusive in the manuscripts. The context of the story will further show that whatever aptness of the quotation there is depends solely on this very word *vānta*, meaning 'vomit' or 'matter vomited', as without it the verse will be altogether out of place in its present setting. The story aims at conveying the horrid feeling of repulsion by painting a picture of a boy indulging in the eating up of vomited food (*chardi-bhakṣaṇaka*) and that is what occasions the quotation.

1. Dr. A. N. Upadhye's edition, No. 17 of the Singhi Jain Series, Bombay, 1943, p. 16.

2. *See*, for example, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXII, p. 85, verse 41; Vol. XXVI, p. 203, text line 42.

THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE
THIRD FOUDATION DAY

The Third Foundation Day Celebrations and the Annual General Body Meeting of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras, were held on Thursday 21st August, 1947, at the Ranade Hall, Mylapore, Madras. A distinguished audience was present. In the unvoidable absence of Prof. M. Hiriyanna, Sri. T. R. Venkatarama Sastriar, President of the Institute, presided. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist, Ootacamund, delivered the Foundation Day Address.

At the General Body Meeting held earlier on the day, the Annual Report, the audited statement of Accounts and the Budget for the coming year were presented by the Secretaries. Duly moved and seconded by Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastri and Sri T. Chandrasehkara Dikshitar, the Annual Report, Accounts and Budget were adopted.

Rao Bahadur K. V. Krishnaswami Iyer then moved the following resolution:

" Resolved that this meeting condemns the dastardly attack on our distinguished Vice-President, Sachivottama Sir C. P, Ramaswami Aiyar, and prays for his speedy recovery to normal health." Sri N. Ragunatha Aiyar seconded and the resolution was passed.

Sir T. R. Venkatarama Sastriar then moved the following condolence resolution from the chair:

" Resolved that this meeting records its great sense of sorrow on the death of Sri T. R. Seshadri Sarma, former Librarian of the Institute,

Sri T. R. Vriddagiri Sarma, a Fellow of the Institute.

Sri B. Sitarama Rao, a Fellow of the Institute,

and Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, a Vice-President of the Institute,

and begs to express its high appreciation of the valuable services rendered by them to the Institute and cause of oriental learning.

The resolution was passed, the members standing.

On the motion of Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, duly seconded by Rao Bahadur A. A. Venkatarama

Aiyar, the following resolution was passed rais ng the annual subscription of the Journal of Oriental Research by Rupees two.

"Resolved that the annual subscription of the Journal of Oriental Research be raised to Rs. 8 (Foreign 14 shillings) from volume XVI onwards, in view of the increased cost of printing and paper."

On the motion of Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, the existing office-bearers were re-elected for another term with the addition of Dr. Rm. Alagappa Chettiar, D. LITT., LL.D., Bar-at-law, as a Vice-President.

Sri V. Swaminathan, B.A., G.D.A., R.A., who had audited the accounts of the Institute, was then thanked for his free service and re-elected auditor for the coming year.

The Third Foundation Day Celebrations then began with the singing of prayer.

Dr. V. Raghavan then read messages received for the success of the function:

Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Shrimat Pant Saheb Pratinidhi Raja Saheb of Aundh, Srimati Sophia Wadia, and Raja Bahadur S. Aravamuda Aiyangar sent their best wishes for the success of the function.

Messages were also sent by the following Research Scholars and Sanskrit Professors: Dr. B. C. Law, Prof. G. H. Bhatt, Baroda, and Prof. M. Lakshminarasimhiah, Mysore.

The greetings of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute were conveyed in a message from its Secretary, Mm. Dr. Umesh Misra. Dr. R. N. Dandekar sent the following message on behalf of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona: "We are happy to see that the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute is doing excellent work in the field of Sanskrit studies and feel no doubt that your Institute will soon occupy an eminent place among acamedic bodies of the country."

Along with his message, Sri K. Nilakantan of B. G. Paul & Co. sent a donation of Rs. 1,000 to the Institute from his sister, wife of the late D. Balasubramanya Iyer. This and her further promise to effect improvements to the Sri Chandrasekarendra Sarasvati Mantapa where the Institute is now housed were applauded by the gathering.

Sri K. Balasubramanya Ayyar read the report of the work of the Institute for 1946-47. A consolidated Report of the work of the Institute from its inception in 1944 upto 1947, containing audited statements of accounts and a list of the Patrons, Fellows and Life Members of the Institute was published on the occasion of Third Foundation Day.

Sri T. R. Venkatarama Sastriar then welcomed the gathering and requested Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra to deliver the Foundation Day Address.

Foundation Day Address

Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra delivered the Foundation Day Address, first in Sanskrit and then in English.

Om
Sarasvatyai namo namaḥ

" Jayati sa bhagavān Kṛṣṇo
jayat-īyam Bhāratī bhūmiḥ |
Tadanu ca jayati jagatyāṁ
śrī-Kuppusvāmiśāstriṇaḥ Kīrtiḥ ||

" Bālye yena girām avāpi vibhavo mātāmahasyāntikāt
paścād yastam avardhayac ca nitarām ācāryaśuśrūṣayā |
Yasy āvardhata sarvadaiva bahuśo dedīyamānopyasau
Kuppusvāmiśubhābhidhaṁ śrutadhanaṁ dhanyaṁ
namasyāmi tam ||

पूज्य सभापतिमहोदय !

उपस्थिताः भगिन्यो भ्रातरश्च,

बहोरयं हर्षस्यावसरः यदत्र वयं अद्य श्री. K. S. R. I. इत्याख्यायाः साहित्यगवेषणपरायाः समितेस्तदीयं वार्षिकमुत्सवं मानयितुं समवेताः स्मः ॥

स्वनामधन्याः पुण्यश्लोकाः, कुलपतयः, विद्यावाचस्पतयः, दर्शन-कलानिधयः महामहोपाध्यायाः श्रीकुप्पुस्वामिशास्त्रिणः संस्कृतभाषायाः परमा भक्ता आसन्निति तेषां प्रीत्यर्थं तामेव देववाणीमधिकृत्य संस्कृतज्ञानां युष्माकं किञ्चित् वक्तुं धृष्णोमि ॥

या सास्माभिः सुचिरमाकाङ्क्षिता चातकैर्मेघमालेव चोदीक्षिता सा स्वतन्त्रता गत एव सप्ताहेऽस्मान् संप्राप्ता । तां सभाजयतामस्माकमद्यापि

गृहे गृहे हर्षोत्सवाः प्रवर्तन्ते । स्थाने खलु राष्ट्रस्य एतदामोदविजृम्भणम् । परन्तु इतोऽग्रेऽस्माभिः किं कर्तव्यं तदपि किञ्चित् विमर्शनीयम् । स्वतन्त्रताप्राप्तेः समकालमेवास्माकं यः कार्यातिभारः समापतितः, तं निर्वोढुमधुनैव सर्वैरेवास्माभिः संभूयोत्थातव्यमुद्योक्तव्यं च । बहुविधं खलु तत्कार्यं यद्राष्ट्रमुद्धर्तुमुन्नमयितुं च करणीयम् । तच्चास्माभिः यथायथं विभक्तव्यम् । विभज्य चाप्रमत्तैर्निष्पादनीयम् । सर्वोऽपि स्वं स्वं कार्यं साधु संपादयेच्च । तत्र तावदिदमवधारणीयं यदस्माकं राष्ट्रमिदानीं यत्किञ्चिदपि निर्माणात्मकं कार्यमनुष्ठातुं उद्यच्छति, तत्सर्वमस्माकं प्राचीनामार्यां संस्कृतिं पुरातनीं सभ्यताम् , अवेक्षमाणमाद्रियमाणं चैवारभ्यते । तदेतच्छुभलक्षणम् । योऽसावस्माकं शाश्वत उपालम्भ आसीत् यदेते पाश्चात्यसभ्यताभिभूताः पण्डितंमन्याः नवयुगभावानुप्राणिताः स्वकीयां भव्यां संस्कृतिं नाभिजानन्ति, प्रत्युत तामवधीरयन्ति, उपेक्षन्ते, तृणाय मन्यन्ते चेति तस्यास्योपालम्भस्य कारणानि, सम्प्रति विलीयमानानीवाभान्ति ॥

तच्चाप्यनुकूलं निमित्तम् । प्रेक्ष्यतां तावदस्माकं राष्ट्रियो ध्वजः । तत्रेदं सम्राजोऽशोकस्य धर्मचक्रं पुनराघूर्णमानमिवाभाति । तदौपम्येनेव सर्वा अपि क्रियाः इतःप्रभृति प्राचीनमस्माकं धर्मं पुरस्कृत्यैव वर्तिष्यन्त इति निश्चप्रचम् । तदित्थं युष्माकं संस्कृतज्ञानाम् अथवा अस्माकं संस्कृतज्ञानां पुष्कलः खलु कार्यभार आपतितः । यूयमेव हि प्राचीनसंस्कृतनिधेर्गोप्तारः । यूयमेव पन्थानं प्रदर्शयितुं शक्ताः ॥

तत्रैका मे प्रार्थना । अनेन राष्ट्रस्याभ्युदयेन सममेव संस्कृतभाषायाः पुनरभ्युदयोऽपि ध्रुवं भावी । तत्र युष्माभिः तस्या अध्यापनं तथाकारं सुकरं रुचिकरं च विधातव्यम् यथा बाला अपि मन्दमतयोऽपि तस्या अध्ययने स्तोकमपि क्लेशं नानुभवेयुः । विदितमेव युष्माकं यथा अस्माकं प्राचीनेषु ग्रन्थेषु शब्दाडम्बरो नैव विद्यते । सर्वत्रार्थस्यैव गौरवमुपलभ्यते । निदर्शनतया छान्दोग्योपनिषदि श्वेतकेतोरुपाख्यानं स्फुरति मे । तत् कीदृशि सरलायां भाषायां वर्णितमस्ति । तस्य सरलता मामेकं तस्य खण्डमत्रोदाहर्तुमुपच्छन्दयति । तद्यथा—"न्यग्रोधफलमत आहर (इति) । इदं भगवः (इति) । भिन्धि (इति) । भिन्नं भगवः (इति) । किमत्र पश्यसि (इति) । न किंचन भगवः (इति) । तँ होवाच, यं वै सोम्यैतदणिमानं निभालयसे, एतस्यैव सोम्यैषोऽणिम्नः एवं महान् न्यग्रोधस्तिष्ठति । श्रद्धत्स्व सोम्य (इति) ।" एवंकारं

यदास्माकं भाषा सुगमा ललिता च भविष्यति तदा सा कस्य कौतुकं नाधास्यति । कस्य वा मनो नाकर्षयिष्यति ! कस्य वा हृदयं न प्रवेक्ष्यति ? नूनं तदा सेयं सुरभारती पूर्ववत् स्वत एव प्रचरिष्यति । तैर्युष्माभिः तथाकारं प्रयतितव्यं तथाकारं प्रयतितव्यम् इति ॥

"Worthy President, Ladies and Gentlemen!

It is very pleasant indeed to meet for a celebration like this in an atmosphere surcharged with the lingering fragrance of the great national rejoicings over the Independence that is ours now. Just a week ago, this very night, the shackle of India's bondage was finally snapped and India declared independent. India is free. We Indians are free now. As cool breezes, refreshing showers of rain and glorious sunshine are in the nature, even so are now the sweet fruits of freedom available to all of us, to those who struggled, suffered and sacrificed for freedom, and to those who would 'only stand and wait', and even to those who would scoff at the freedom movement or actively oppose it. Liberty is smiling benignly at all of us without distinction. It is, however, one thing to attain freedom, and another to retain it and enjoy its blessings for ever to the fullest extent. The first step in that direction is at once to banish bag and baggage disease, squalor, poverty and ignorance from our midst, and to restore in their stead health, cleanliness, plenty and knowledge. When these sound foundations have been laid, we have to raise the superstructure of a courteous and most refined society, a nation of which each individual is progressive and yet self-denying, thereby making a magnificent contribution to the well-being of the whole human race. That I call peace, lasting and complete. India is not a stranger to these fine things of life. She has partaken of them to her heart's content, and has made even others partake of them. But

Sukhasy=ānantaraṁ duḥkhaṁ
duḥkhasy=ānantaraṁ sukham |
Cakravat parivartante
duḥkhāni ca sukhāni ca ||

or as Kālidāsa puts it:

Nīcair gacchaty=upari ca daśā cakranemikrameṇa ||

'Good and evil, weal and woe, joy and sorrow follow each other in rotation.' Happily for us, the wheel has now taken the upward turn. The tide has turned in our favour. And we

have to make the best of it. And that is where cultural institutions like the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute come in. I shall presently have occasion to demonstrate what an important part such institutions play in the nation-building activities. It is therefore but meet that this celebration should have followed so close on the heels of the grand national jubilation.

We are gathered here to honour the revered memory of a worthy son of India, that great Indologist of world-wide fame, Kulapati, Vidyāvācaspati, Darśanakalānidhi, Mahāmahopādhyāya Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri, by celebrating the third anniversary of the foundation of the Research Institute that has been named after him. It is a very great honour indeed on such an occasion to be called upon to address a distinguished gathering like this. And if that honour has fallen on a total stranger like me, it is to be attributed not to any outstanding merit or ability of the stranger, but to the magnanimity and large-heartedness of the organisers of the function, especially of Sri T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, the President of the Institute, and of Dr. V. Raghavan, one of the Honorary Secretaries of the Institute. I have had the privilege of knowing the two last-named personally, though not yet very intimately. It was from them that I received the call for delivering this Foundation Address. The royal ascetic Bhartṛhari must have had such personages in view, when he remarked:

Paraguṇaparamāṇūn parvatīkṛtya nityaṁ
nijahṛdi vilasantaḥ santi santah kiyantaḥ!

'Seeing just a particle of virtue in others, they make a mountain of it and take delight in doing so. Rare indeed are such benevolent souls.' Otherwise, what virtue is there in me to deserve the honour so graciously conferred on me? As for my acceptance of it, it is more of an obedience to a command, an obedience with alacrity and humility. I am grateful to the Governing Body of the K.S.R.I. for affording me such an exeellent opportunity of associating myself with all of you in paying homage to the Kulapati.

My tribute to one who held Sanskrit so dear and whose life was dedicated to the promotion of Sanskrit learning would have been purer and more appropriate, were it couched in that divine language. And I would certainly have loved to address you in Sanskrit. In fact, when I received the call I took it for

granted that I was expected to talk to you in Sanskrit itself. But I was later disillusioned and was advised to adopt this, at present more familiar, medium of English for obvious reasons.

I may add here that on further consultation with Dr. Raghavan this morning, my wish was partly granted, and, as a consequence thereof, I have had my way by thrusting a brief speech in Sanskrit on you before beginning this address.

The privilege of coming into personal contact with the Mahāmahopādhyāya was denied me, but I conceived a sort of hero worship for him as early as 1926, when I first had the pleasure of seeing him. This happened in Calcutta. The occasion was the Akhila Bhāratavarṣīya Saṃskṛita Sāhitya Sammelana (All-India Sanskrit Conference), which was presided over by the Mahāmahopādhyāya himself. The conference was attended by a large number of representatives, scholars and students from various provinces of India as also from some neighbouring countries. I was then a student of Sanskrit. I followed the deliberations of the Conference with zealous interest. The thing that impressed me most and excited my admiration was that the entire proceedings were conducted through the medium of Sanskrit. The presidential address, which was in pure, fluent and melodious Sanskrit, was a literary treat. Even as a junior student, I could appreciate and enjoy it. I was seated next to a monk from Nepal, with whom I could not talk except in Sanskrit. And we talked quite a lot. I then realised the greatness and universality of Sanskrit and wondered why the Indians were so loath to adopt it as their *lingua franca.*

To an up-country lad that I was then, the name Kuppuswami sounded rather strange, and for that very reason it stuck fast to my memory. Even to this day, I do not know what the Dravidian word *Kuppu* means, but my boyhood's fancy explained it in its own way and to its own satisfaction. It recalled to my mind the Hindustani term *Kuppu* which means 'a large leathern vessel for holding oil or ghee'. And by the association of ideas, I began to look upon the bearer of the name Kuppuswami as a vast repository of Sanskrit learning. Was he not that? Was I wrong in my estimation of him? He *was* that. I was not wrong.

The literary career to Professor Kuppuswami Sastri started from his very infancy. It is said that even at the

tender age of three he learnt the entire Mūkapañcaśatī, comprising 500 stanzas, from his maternal grandfather, and used to recite them with ease. This affectionate gift from the *mātāmaha* surely carried with it the blessings of the Goddess, whose praises the child sang in reciting those stanzas. That was a decent capital to start with. It multiplied itself manifold as the young learner grew in years. Before he was twenty, he had, we are told, mastered such abstruse branches of our ancient learning as Kāvya, Nyāya, Vedānta, Mīmāmsā and Vyākaraṇa. He had become an exponent of them. It was truly a prodigious attainment for a young man in his teens. Nor was his modern education neglected. He passed the Matriculation examination in 1896 at the age of sixteen. Four years later, in 1900, he graduated with Philosophy as his special subject. At this stage there came what I should call a crisis, which happily did not end in a tragedy as, alas, it often happens in India—I wish it would not happen hereafter ! The young man with such high attainments and promise accepted a petty job of a clerk in the Board of Revenue, possibly under the pressure of circumstances. Would it not have been a thousand pities had the young scholar been allowed to continue as clerk? His hard earned wealth of learning would have simply been cast to the winds. Even if the clerk had risen to the position of a Member of the Board of Revenue, the loss to the scholarly world would have been colossal. Our prayer is always: *tejasvināv-adhitam-astu* 'Whatever we have learnt, may that shine forth!' And how can it shine forth, when we take leave of it when it is just time for it to shine forth? I dare say, even in this gathering there may be some whose talents have been misplaced, who have willynilly been doing a job ill suited to their achievements. But no such thing in the case of our hero. He was constantly guarded by the Goddess Whose favour he had won even as a child. Thanks to the passing illness of the clerk's mother, which was a blessing in disguise, the crisis was averted before it could prove harmful. The clerk must attend on his ailing mother, but he was refused leave. Stung by this callousness, he gave up the job and rushed home.

Hamsāḥ śuklīkṛtā yena
śukāś-ca haritīkṛtāḥ |

Mayūrāś=citritā yena
sa te vṛttiṁ vidhāsyati ||

'Why should you worry about your livelihood? He Who has made the swans white, has made the parrots green and has made the peacocks variegated, will surely look after you.' And then there is the assurance from the Lord himself:

> Nahi kalyāṇakṛt kaścit
> durgatiṃ tata gacchati ||
> 'A right-doer never comes to grief.'

I have taken the liberty of enlarging upon this, seemingly insignificant, episode in the life of Professor Kuppuswami Sastri, because, for me, it does have a significance, and a tremendous one at that. In my own life I have had a similar experience. It seems to me that mothers have mysterious ways of benefiting their children. In my case my mother's death proved a turning point in my life. But for that event, I would not have been what I am today. I would have been a shopkeeper to day, not knowing even Hindi, let alone Sanskrit and the rest.

To continue our hero's exploits, after resigning the clerical post, his mother restored to health, he struggled for a more independent living. He started studying law, but somehow did not qualify himself as a lawyer. Instead, he wound up this new venture by becoming a Master of Arts, in 1905. His studies in law stood him in good stead during his life thereafter. By this time he had established his reputation as a great Sanskrit scholar and teacher, and soon his merits gained due recognition. He became the Principal of the Mylapore Sanskrit College and was there from 1906 to 1910. From 1910 to 1914 he was the Principal of the Trivadi Sanskrit College. Thereafter he became the Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at the Presidency College and Curator of the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, which exalted post he held till 1935 when he retired from the Government Service. This period of thirty years was the most productive of his activities. South India is already famous for its traditional Sanskrit learning, and the Professor added lustre to that glory. He combined in himself a Pandita of the hoary tradition, a modern educationalist and a research-worker. He took a leading part in the activities of the University of Madras so far as they related to the teaching of Sanskrit and research in the oriental subjects. Most of the Sanskrit scholars in South India at present, I understand, have been his pupils. The

prevailing elaborate system of examinations in Sanskrit at the University of Madras with their carefully thought out curricula is mainly his creation. He was connected with several other universities in the country in various capacities. Equally intimate was his association with the All-India Oriental Conference and the All-India Sanskrit Conference as well as with the premier religious institutions. All these and the Government of India, in recognition of his meritorious services, honoured him with befitting titles and distinctions. The courses of lectures he delivered, the articles he published and the works he wrote and edited, a list of which you may find elsewhere, all testify to the amount and quality of the research work he turned out. Apart from this, there was a band of research workers whom he diligently guided. He was throughout an inspiration to others. The Oriental Research Institute of the University of Madras owes its existence largely to his energies. The results of all these activities are published in the fourteen volumes of the Journal of Oriental Research, of which he was the founder and the editor, and which set a high standard for the type of journalistic enterprise.

It is not my purpose to present here a precise account of the Professor's activities, backed by facts and figures. My humble attempt is to read the message his life imparts to us. From the brief outline given above, he stands out as a torch-bearer of India's ancient culture which requires to be revealed to each one of us in its full glory, to be studied, imbibed and re-lived by every Indian. By his own example, he has shown that India's past is not a thing to be despised, it is something to be proud of, and, adapted to modern conditions, it enriches and ennobles us so as to raise us in the estimation of the world. So, my friends,

Uttiṣṭhata jāgrata prāpya varān nibodhata! 'Rise, wake, and secure your glorious heritage!' Let us carry the torch, lit and passed on to us by our leader. Let us carry it to every nook and corner and dispel the gloom of ignorance.

It was to fulfil this mission that the friends and admirers of the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Kuppuswami Sastri established a research institute and named it after him, of which we are now celebrating the third anniversary.

The leading personalities, themselves deeply learned and steeped in the ancient Indian culture, that are the sponsors and

patrons of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, are a guarantee of both its soundness and its excellence. Its Governing Body and Research Committee include scholars of eminence. One of its aims and objects is to publish the works, lectures, articles and other writings of the late Mahāmahopādhyāya S. Kuppuswami Sastri, of which the following have already seen the light of the day: (1) Chapter I of his edition of the Dhvanyāloka, (2) his lectures on Highways and Byways of Literary Criticism in Sanskrit, and (3) his lectures on Compromises in the History of Advaitic Thought. Another token of esteem that the Institute has shown to the late Mahāmahopādhyāya is that it has revived and taken over the Journal of Oriental Research, which had to be suspended owing to the paper scarcity and other restrictions during the war. Its fifteenth volume has just been completed, with the issue of its fourth quarter. It has, however, to gather momentum to come to the standard set by its originator.

Speaking of the high place that Sanskrit has occupied, from the very beginning, in our Aryan culture, I may as well touch upon the part it has played also in what we call Greater India. In fact, this is an independent subject and Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri was to have given us a talk on Sanskrit in Greater India this evening. It is greatly to be regretted that he is too unwell to come here. I shall therefore fill up the gap, with a few observations. We shall no doubt all miss the learned, authoritative, informatory and detailed talk which Professor Sastri would have given us; but thinking that something is better than nothing, I may give you a scrappy account.

The name Greater India applies to those lands and islands outside India proper, especially those lying in the far east, that came into cultural contact wich the Aryans from India and maintained that intercourse for centuries on end. This movement might have started much earlier, but in the case of most of the countries of Greater India, we have evidence that the Indians went there in the early centuries of the Christian era. They settled there, married the native girls, and made those lands and islands their homes for ever. The Aryan culture was then at its peak and whosoever came into contact with it was naturally imbued with it—got absorbed in it. The Aryans who then migrated from India took with them their culture and spread it far and wide. Those were the days when arts,

science, trades and governments were in very flourishing conditions in India, and these were all strung, as if it were, on Sanskrit, their transactions were carried on through the medium of Sanskrit. The same happened with the Aryans who migrated from here. The spread and popularity of Sanskrit in those far off countries and its influence on their native languages is abundantly clear from the inscriptions, both on stone and metal, and the literary works, that are found there in their hundreds and thousands. By way of illustration, I would mention a few.

In the eastern part of the island of Borneo, we have discovered seven inscriptions incised on stone Yūpas, recording in chaste metrical Sanskrit the charities performed by ruler Mūlavarman by name. The charities consisted of thousands of cows, heaps of sesame seeds, lamps, etc., which we find enjoined in the Manusmṛti. These inscriptions are assigned to the 4th century A.C. Of a little later date are several inscriptions on rocks, in the western part of Java, which belong to a King called Pūrnavarman. They are the earliest composed in equally chaste Sanskrit. The earliest of this catagory are perhaps the stone inscriptions of a King Bhadravarman in Campa, *i.e.*, Indo-China. This is with reference to the earliest records. Late ones are numerous and quite lengthy ones and in point of time they extend to the tenth century. About this time, the indigenous languages also make their appearance in such documents, as is the case in India also. Side by side, the literature also flourished. In Java, for instance, we have Javanese versions of Sanskrit works like Mahābhārata. I have in my possession a copy of its Ādiparvan. I have also a copy of a manuscript of the Bhagavadgītā in Sanskrit, as it reached Java in those days. It is interesting; further it is much smaller in extent, only a hundred ślokas or so. The work is worth further investigation. There are works in old Javanese such Nāgarakṛitāgama, Pararaton, Arjunavivāha, Smaradahana, Vṛittasañcaya, Amaramālā *etc.*—some versions, some commentaries and some adaptations of our Sanskrit works—Time does not permit a further elaboration of this most interesting subject.

With the advent of freedom, this Institute is bound to receive ever increasing support and stimulus from the public in its undertakings, and the demand on it for more and manifold production must correspondingly be high. The nation is

keenly alive to its fine heritage and is determined to profit by it. Already the Dharmacakra is once more in our midst, on our banner and on our hearts, the wheel of Law that was set in motion, two thousand and five hundred years ago, by the Śākyasiṁha, Gautama, the Wheel that kept revolving down the centuries, in the times of Aśoka, Samudragupta and Harṣa. The nation is out to revive old traditions, and the institutions like our Institute have to shown her the way, to light her path and guide her. We have to run our administrative system once more in our own way, on our own pattern, in our own language. The same thing in respect of our education, our pursuit of modern sciences. For all this our first requisite is a proper terminology. The Indologist has a great task to accomplish. But you will see that there is nothing wanting. You have simply to unravel, to lay bare, these past treasures that are hidden in the ocean of Sanskrit literature. There you will find everything that you require to suit your purpose. The cultural wealth for which we are thirsting now is to be found there in abundance, in our own Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, Upaniṣads, Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Purāṇas, Smṛtis, Kośas, and the vast classical literature, the Buddhist and Jaina scriptures, and last but not least, the thousands of ancient inscriptions on stone and metal. I assure you that a peep in to this vast store-house will open your eyes. During the last century and a half, Western scholars first, and scholars of own country later, have time and again drawn our attention to this our opulence. But it was of no immediate concern to us, so we did not pay much heed to it. Many, alas, turned away from it in disdain. But the time has now come, when we have got to take stock of our bequest, our property and possessions.

I am glad to observe that the work has already been started in many a sister institute in the country as also by certain scholars individually. The University of Nagpur, for instance, has resolved to adopt Hindi as medium of instruction, from 1949, if my information is correct, and for that purpose they have secured the services of an eminent linguist and Indologist in the person of Dr. Raghuvira who, with a band of scholars working under him, is busy compiling dictionaries—mind you, not *a* dictionary, but dictionaries; for, in this modern age of specialisation, we require a separate dictionary of terms

peculiar to each and every branch of art and science. And Dr. Raghuvira is doing that. His dictionary on Chemistry is already out. And where is he drawing his material from? All from the Sanskrit literature, of course. If you listen to a discourse by him on the subject and see the way he is doing his job, you will, I am sure, yourself remark: Sanskrit is not dead; it is we who have all along been dead to Sanskrit.

Owing to reasons of health, Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri could not be present to give his discourse on Sanskrit in Greater India.

Vidwan M. Rajamanikkam Pillai, B.O.L., L.T., M.O.L., then delivered a speech in Tamil on the Cultural History from the Periyapurāṇam. An English version of the lecture appears elsewhere in this issue.

Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Ayyar then proposed a vote of thanks.

CULTURAL HISTORY FROM THE PERIAPURĀṆAM.

VIDVAN M. RAJAMANIKAM PILLAI, B.O.L., L.T., M.O.L.
Vivekananda College, Madras.

INTRODUCTORY.

The Periayapurāṇam deals with the lives of the sixty-three Nāyanmārs who flourished approximately for about six centuries from 300 to 900 A.D. Śekkiḻār, the author of that illustrious work, flourished in the first half of the 12th century A.D. Thus though there is an interval of about 300 years between the date of the author Śekkiḻār and the last date of the Nāyanmārs, we may yet take that Śekkiḻār who was the Grand Vizier of the Imperial Chola, Anapāya, depicts mainly the trend of events and cultural movements characteristic of the age of the Nāyanmārs. As such, one can safely assume that the cultural aspects dealt with in the Periyapurāṇam are the same as those evident during the glorious Pallava Period.[1] In other words, by a reference to the Periyapurāṇam, one can definitely have a view of the nature and character of the culture that existed in Tamil Nad between 300 to 900 A.D.

SOCIAL ORGANISATION.

In the Tamilian society of that age, we find a social hierarchy with the Brāhmans, the kings, the merchants, the peasants and other occupational groups, corresponding to the various rungs of the social ladder. Though these distinctions were in existence, yet so far as religious and social spheres of human activity were concerned, there was a 'unity in diversity.'

The Brāhmaṇas: The Brāhmans were held in high esteem by the Tamil monarchs, and those who were well-versed in the Vedas were given grants of small villages which went by the name of 'Brahamadeya. These Brāhman villages were singularly marked out by the various names they bore like

1. Vide my thesis for M.O.L. "A Critical Study of Śekkiḻār and His Historical Material."

'Brahmapuri' [1] 'Brahmadeśam,' 'Aharam' or 'Agrahāram,' 'Mangalam', 'Caturvedimangalam,' 'Pudūr' or 'Putūr.' These villages were brilliantly adminstered by the Brāhmans themselves residing there. For example at Tiruvaṇṇainallūr, Tillai (Chidambaram) and Seignyalur (சேய்ஞலூர்), we find adminstrative courts or offices under the guidance of the Brāhman intelligensia of those localities. These courts rendered justice after hearing the various cases that came up to them.[2] Most of the Brāhmans were well versed in Sanskrit, but it should also be noted that some Brāhmans like Tirugñāna Sambandar were not only masters of the Tamil language but were also adepts in composing hymns in Tamil.

Kings : In Tamil Nad, there is no separate caste like 'kṣatriya', as we find in the north. Hence we find emperors or kings of kings like the Cēras, the Cōlas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas, as well as petty tributary chieftain clans like the Kurumbars, the Kallars, the Malaivāṇars or Mountain-dwellers. But in all these royalties, one could find the six *aṅgas* of kingship existent.

Merchants: During the age of the Nāyanmārs, Kāraikkāl, Negapatam, Kāvērip-pūm-paṭṭinam and Mailāpūr flourished as emporiums of sea-borne trade. Merchant magnates lived in these cites [3] and carried on a prosperous trade with Ceylon, East Indies and other lands overseas. Inland trade was also carried on vigorously; the merchants were sufficiently trained in the use of weapons so as to guard themselves and their merchandise from the attacks of pirates and robbers; they possessed almost all the weapons of warfare usual to the warrior.[4]

Peasants: These people were engaged in agriculture and they fromed the backbone of the country. They enjoyed the unique privilege of giving their daughters in marriage even to Kings. Saint Tirunāvukkaraśar belonged to this Vellala group. At first he embrased Jainism and for about fifteen years strove hard in mastering their religious scriptures

1. 'Berhampore' of today is only a corruption of 'Brahmapuri.'
2. Taḍut-tāṭkoṇḍapurāṇam, St. 49-64. Tirunīlakaṇṭapurāṇam, St. 30-34; Caṇḍeśarpurāṇam St. 40-43.
3. Vide the Purāṇams about Kāraikkāl Ammayyār, Amar Nītiyār, Sambandhar and Iyarpahaiyār.
4. Iyarpahaiyārpurāṇam, St. 14-24.

and even received the title of 'Dharmasenar.' But, if such a great protagonist of Jainism were to embrace Śaivism later, due to the marvellous fascinating influence of his eldest sister [1] Tilakavadiyār, one can very easily deduce how much that lady must have been well-educated and well-endowed with moral calibre. Of the 63 Nāyanmārs, 13 are Brāhmans, and on a par with them we find another 13, all Vallālas by birth; from this, is it not clear that Vellāla Nāyanmārs also attained a high level of mental and moral development as the Brāhman Nāyanmārs?

Other Occupational groups: The other occupational groups also were well-informed and well-educated; e.g., Nanda, a paraiya, was able to attain a position of equal eminence among the enlightened society of well-educated and well-informed Brāhmans, as is attested by his Purāṇam. Note in this connection that untouchability was prevalent during Nanda's days. The Bānars who were adepts in the arts of musical symphony, were also to a certain extent treated as inferiors in days gone by but, we find Sambandar, a Brāhman, treating Tirunīlakāṇṭa-Yāzhp-pāṇar and his consort with the greatest respect and courtesy; from this, it is crystal clear that in religious spheres, when one attained the height of perfection, caste-distinctions held no sway.

2. WOMEN AND MARRIAGE.

During the age of the Nāyanmārs, women enjoyed an equal status with that of men. The cordial treatment accorded to the Nāyanmārs of both sexes by their devotees and their worship bear witness to this equality. Besides, the religious services and temple services rendered by them also point to this same direction. But one should not forget the fact that this enjoyment of an equal status by women in those days was solely due to their own making, because they had reached the heights of culture, moral code and religious life. Take for example, Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār, the emerald of the merchant community. She was capable of reciting hymns in divine ecstasy, which brimming full with 'Bhakti' found a place in the Śaiva Tirumurais. We have already mentioned how Tilakavadiyār was able to make her brother Appar embrace Śaivaism and one should not forget that Appar was

1. Tirunāvukkaraśar Purāṇam, St. 39-69.

the most highly cultured individual in religious scriptures of those days. Similarly, Maṅgayakaraśiyār, the Pāṇḍya Queen, tried to convert her husband, Kūṇ-Pāṇḍya, to Śaivism with success. The wife of Tirunīlakaṇṭa-Yāzhp-pāṇar followed her husband in his sojourns with Sambandar to places of pilgrimage and kept company with him. Do not all these above statements indicate the high status that the women-folk of our land enjoyed during the time of the Nāyanmārs! It is not exaggeration to say that Śaivism reached the height of its pre-eminence solely due to the unstinted co-operation rendered by these illustrious women to their consorts.

Some of the women-folk dedicated their lives for the uplift of religion and remained in maidenhood for ever ;[1] some even wore the yellow robe and became nuns; most of them enjoyed the privilege of marriage, if they wanted to lead a married life.[2]

In those days, wives used to mount the funeral pyre along with their dead husbands; in other words, self-immolation was prevalent. This can be attested to by the act of self-immolation by Appar's mother when her husband died.[3] Leaving this apart, we find wives abhoring their husbands even to the verge of untouchablity if they were to perpetrate debauchery or adultery.[4]

Marriage Rites: The would-be bridegroom, of his own accord, used to send 'the elders' to his ladylove's house for betrothal.[5] Or the parents of the bridegroom used to approach direct the bride's parents for fixing the marriage.[6] If both the parties were to agree, then only the auspicious day for the marriage would be fixed. When deciding a marriage, greatest attention was focussed on the integrity of character of the bridegroom concerned. In spite of such scrupulous scrutiny and care, the husband of Karaikkāl Ammaiyār went astray and spoiled her conjugal affection.[7] Sambandar's marriage was celebrated according to Vedic

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1. Sambandar Purāṇam, St. 1117 ; Kalikkamar Purāṇam, S. 220.
2. *Ibid* St. 260.
3. Appar Purāṛam St. 28
4. Tirunīlakaṇṭar Purāṇam, St. 5-6.
5. Appar Purāṇam, St. 23. Sambandar Purāṇam. St. 1162.
7. Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār Purāṇam, St. 31.

rites, Sundarar's weddings were nothing but 'love-matches' and were celebrated in temples; one should not forget that Sundarar was an Ādi-Śaiva or Gurukkal. This Ādi-śaiva married a dancing girl and a Vellāla girl; nay one, Kotpuliyār, a Vellāla, entreated this Ādi-Śaiva to marry his two daughters. Then again one Śivaneśa Cețțiyār requested Sambandar to marry his daughter. From all such incidents, it can be safely concluded that great importance was not attached to caste-distinctions among the Śaivites of those days, so far as marriage was concerned. Leaving this apart, one can also find another custom that existed *viz.*, that a betrothed girl used to immolate her own self or agreed to lead the rest of her wretched life in widowhood if her betrothed husband were to predecease her.[1]

3. *Political Institutions.*

Kingship:—As already stated there is no separate kingly caste like the Kṣatriyas in Tamil Nad. Succession to the kingship was purely hereditary either for the imperial throne or for the tributary chieftaincy. In case their was no heir of the royal blood, then the ministers and the state subjects would let loose the trained royal elephant (பட்டத்து யானை) with a garland in its trunk. The elephant in its sojourn would pitch upon the proper man to the 'gadi' by garlanding him and carrying him on its back. This strange custom, seamingly superstitious, can be attested to by the incident that Mūrti Nāyanār, a merchant, was in this way installed as a Pāṇḍya ruler.[2]

The King ruled the country very well, bestowing the greatest attention upon his subjects. He tried his best in alleviating the distress of his subjects which might occur in any one of five ways, viz., by his own self, by his courtiers, by foes and by wild beasts.[3] The King devoted the greatest attention to the promulgation of his own religion; he punished those who resisted his religions views. Moreover, certain Kings like Guṇadharan and Neḍumāran began to show a fanatical hatred towards their old religion itself, after their

1. Appar Purāṇam, St. 32-34.
2. Mūrti Nāyanār Purāṇam, St. 27-42.
3. Nakarac cirappu, St. 36.

convesion to a new one, viz., Śaivism. Thus on the whole, we can say that the King followed the rigours and disciplines enjoined by his religious tenets and punished offenders against them with a stern severity. If the King died, some of the members of his militia also perished with him.[1]

Popular Institutions.

Cultural Centres:—A peep into the Periyapurāṇam shows that during the time of the Nāyanmārs Tirup-pādiripuliyūr figured as a stronghold of Jainism and centre of spiritual learning and culture. It was in a Jain monastery there that Appar studied all the Jain scriptures and received the title of 'Dharmasenar'. Similar Jain centres were found at Tiruvārūr, Tiruvottūr and Tiru-Mailāpūr, and these also served as torch-bearers of culture and learning. So also the place 'Bodhimangai' flourished as a seat of Buddhist learning. The city of Kāñci was famous as the repository of four religious cults viz., Vaiṣṇavaism, Śaivism, Buddhism, and Jainism. Appar also testifies to this aspect by eulogising Kāñchi as a city of unbounded culture (கல்வியில் கரையிலாத காஞ்சிமாநகர்). In those days, the Pali, the Sanskrit and the Tamil languages held high sway among the people's minds and this fact can be proved bv the utterances made by emiment luminaries like Buddhadatta and Hiwen-Tsang.

Monasteries :—Attached to the temples were the monasteries which imported religious instruction and fostered religious education. The student in the monastery received religious as well as general education of a wide nature. Further, these monasteries served also as lodges for the Samayācāryas like Appar and Sambandar during their religious tours. Such monasteries as those existed in various places like Tiruvīzhimizhalai, Tirumarugal, Tirumaraikkāḍu and Tiruppuhalūr.

Village Adminstrative units:—Reference was already made to the existence of village courts and assemblies. Only those who possessed the requisite qualifications of learning, culture, good behaviour and experience were eligible for membership in the assembly. In the 'Grāma sabhā', all the documents pertaining to that village were preserved and guarded in an apartment set apart for that purpose; and this

1. Vellanaic-carukkam, St. 37.

went by the name of 'Arantarukāppu'. In every Grāma Sabhā, there was an accountant. All cases were decided after fully hearing the parties to the suit, the documents pertaining to the suit, and the witnesses involved.[1] For the crimes committed by youngsters the parents were held responsible.[2] Similar to these legal codes which were in existence, we can also infer the existence of forest laws, specifying the rules for the game of hunting.[3]

4. Religion.

During the age of the Nāyanmārs, Jainism, Buddhism, Śaivism and Vaiṣaṇavism thrived in Tamil Nad. The Digambara sect of Jainism was wielding a very high influence, as a result of which Śaivism was not able even to lift up its head. Later Appar was able to make Toṇḍai-Nāḍu a Śaiva Nāḍu; and similarly Sambandar was able to spread Śaivism in Paṇḍya Nāḍu, after defeating the Jains and Buddhists in Samayavāda or religious discussions. Those who suffered defeat sought gallows of their own accord or were sent to the gallows.[4]

Among the Śaivites there were diverse sects like (1) the Kāpālikas (2) Pāśupatas and (3) the Kālāmukas. The followers of these sects were mainly immigrants from the north; they spread their religious customs and practices in Tamil Nad and had their own monasteries in some places.

There were about 300 temples in Tamil Nad dedicated to Śiva and festivals were celebrated in them. Of these Śaiva temples, those at Chidambaram and Tiruvārūr were held in the highest esteem by Śaiva devotees.

5. Other Details.

Chidambaram and Kāñci were big cities. Places like Tiruvaṇṇainallūr were only villages. Besides such cities and villages, there were the *ceris* or the habitats of the Paraiyas,

1. Taḍut-tāt koṇḍa Purāṇam..
2. Caṇḍeśar Purāṇam St. 43.
3. Kaṇṇappar Purāṇam St. 86.
4. The sculptures in Vaikuṇṭa Perumāl Koil, Kāñci, attest to a similar treatment accorded to those who suffered defeat in the Samayavāda against Vaiṣṇavism. (Vide Dr. Minakshi's Administrative and Social Life under the Pallavas).

tht hunters and the Paravars. Reference to any city like Kāñci or Cidambaram in the Periyapurāṇam will give the reader an idea of the structure of a typical 'city' during those times; similarly, reference to any sanctified village with its temple in the Periyapurāṇam will give an idea of the structure of a typical 'village' during those times. In this connection it is very interesting to note that Geddes, the famous expert himself, vouchsafed for the fact that the structure of the city of Kāñci must have been planned by well-skilled town-planning architects.

The Periyapurāṇam also refers to minute details like the kinds of dress, ornaments and weapons worn by the people of those days; it makes reference also to the excellence of the fine arts like music and dancing. These details are borne out by the authentic testimony of the exquisite specimens of art at Sittannavāśal and the marvellous sculptures of the Kailāsanātha and Vaikuṇṭaperumāl temples at Kāñci.

CONCLUSION

To understand really the cultural and social life of the Tamils of the Pallava period and after, one must necessarily refer to the Tirumurais, the Nālāyira Divya Prabandham and the Periyapurāṇam. Of these three, the last mentioned is of utmost utility, as it helps us a great deal in reconstructing the history of the period and in studying the social and cultural advancement of the people of that age. To conclude, let us pay our humblest homage to that great savant of Tamil Literature Śekkiḻār for having bestowed on Tamil Nad such a gem 'of purest ray serene' as the Periyapurāṇam.

"SANSKRIT AS LINGUA FRANCA".*

H. E. Dr. Kailas Nath Katju, M.A., LL.D.
Governor of Orissa and Chancellor, Utkal University.

I

" I would strongly recommend that just as English was the official language in the Law Courts and under the Government of India Act in the different Legislatures and in Government administration departments, so also the Indian national language-Rashtra Bhasha—should be made the Official language to the same extent. Unless you do so, I see great difficulties in the development of an Indian national language as a vehcile for exchange of ideas and for national communion and intercourse. The aim should be not merely knowledge, but also the acquistion of proficiency in the national language by the largest number of people imaginable.

" That brings me to the very difficult question of what the national language should be. I know this is very delicate ground and I must tread it cautiously with great discretion. The labours of learned men, literateurs and poets have built up provincial languages which have great traditions behind them. Leaving Hindi and Urdu aside, the modern Bengali, Gujerati, Marathi, Oriya, Tamil and Telugu and other languages have cultural treasures of which their inheritors are justly proud. This is just the problem which I would like this eminent Board to consider in its disapassionate and far-sighted wisdom.

" As a layman, if I were bold enough to hazard an opinion, my first impulse would be to consider the claims of Sanskrit as our national language. Sanskrit is the mother of all the provincial languages of India, which do not derive their inspiration from Arabia and Persia. Provincial vocabularies have drawn vastly upon the storehouse of Sanskrit words and phrases. And then all people do Sanskrit reverence. All our sacred books on law and religion, and all our literature and text books on Art and Science and Medicine and technical subjects such as architecture are in Sanskrit. The adoption

* Extracted from H.E. Dr. Katju's Inaurgural Address to the Inter-University Board Meeting at Cuttack on 1-12-47 and his Convocation Address to the Utkal University on 3-12-47. Reproduced here by H. E.'s kind permission.

of Sanskrit will not raise any Provincial jealousies. Indeed it will be widely welcomed because Sanskrit is already so familiar. Every year an ever-growing number of people, boys and girls, read Sanskrit in Schools and Colleges. The script of most of the provincial languages is based on variations of Devanagari in which Sanskrit is written and Devanagari is well-known throughout India. The Sankrit starts, therefore with definite advantages in its favour. But then it is said that Sanskrit is not a living language; it ceased to be a spoken language centuries ago, and it is said it will be impossible now revive it; I am not so sure of that myself, but of course I am not competent to pronounce an opinion upon this matter. I have heard many people talking and speaking in Sanskrit with the greatest ease and confidence. Then it is said that Sanskrit is difficult to learn and to impart knowledge of. I am not sure of that either. But these are all points worthy of your careful consideration. I am sure, however, of one thing that if Sanskrit were to become gradually the language of our superior law courts, of our Laws and Regulations, of our State Documents, of our great State Departments, it will make a wonderful appeal to and raise enormous enthusiasm among the vast teeming millions of this country, and be in itself a powerful unifying factor in our national life. It will forge a link with our ancient culture, and the wider diffusion of Sanskrit as a national language will in its turn prove a powerful instrument for the development of the great provincial languages in India. The progress will be smooth because all sense of rivalry and jealosy will be completely absent.

"If what I plead for is not feasible or is not practical politics, then you will have to choose between other languages, not only for the purpose of intercourse in the market places of India, but for intercourse among learned men, as medium for instruction in arts and sciences, for drafting laws and regulations, and for conducting legal proceedings and debates in our supreme law courts and Legislatures. A national language must be rich in its contents, must, by its allusions, its similies and metaphors be capable of arousing a sense of national pride in those who use it. The question of script is an important factor and the fact that the Devanagari script is already familar to the vast masses of population through their Sanskrit literature is one of prime importance, In Madras and Malabar, in Utkal and Bengal, in Gujarat and Maharashtra,

Devanagari script is equally loved everywhere and any other script would be regarded as a strange innovation."

II

"We must acquire proficiency in the use of the national language to the same extent as we have endeavoured to do with English language. In this connection I have already elsewhere drawn attention to the merits of the Sanskrit language and its suitability for adoption as our national language. I was speculating as to what would happen if there was no active effort on behalf of the State for the propagation and enforcement of any particular language as the national language. What would be left as the linguistic tie between the different parts of the country? The answer to that question is not in doubt. The Sanskrit language is the only cultural bond between vast masses of Indians. It is the language which is being increasingly studied in our Pathshalas, schools and colleges, and a man from Madura and Rameswar, in the South well-versed in Sanskrit does not find himself a complete stranger in Prayag or Kashmir. It seems to me that the difficulties in the acquisition of Sanskrit are very much exaggerated. In fact, Sanskrit possesses the most scientifically constructed rules of grammar and these rules once mastered make the command of the language fairly easy. Its vocabulary is vast. Its literature in arts and sciences, mathematics and astronomy and medicine is magnificent. And it has further the great merit of being the mother of all provincial languages in India. I am convinced that the development of Sanskrit will lead automatically to the great encouragement and development of all the provincial languages of India.

BOOK REVIEWS

Further Sources of Vijayanagar History. 3 Volumes. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. N. Venkataramanayya. University of Madras. Rs. 7 each.

The Department of Indian History in the University of Madras has enriched further the literature on South Indian History by publishing in three volumes the "Further sources of Vijayanagar History."

The laudable work begun by the late A. Rangaswami Sarasvati has been very ably completed by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, joint authors of the "Further Sources", selected and brought together from Sanskrit, from the South Indian Vernaculars and from Persian. The main work done by the Vijayanagar Scholar, Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, has been helped by Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri with the English translations of Sanskrit extracts and pertinent passages from works in Dutch, written by Macleod and the Dagh Register etc.,

Of these three volumes of "Further Sources" the first volume is entirely devoted to a Summary, in fact a veritable compendium, of the History of Vijayanagar written by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, and the second volume contains the extracts about 253 in number written originally in Persian, Canarese, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam and Sanskrit. A majority of the extracts are in Telugu, and only about 70 are in other languages, of which 7 are from Persian, 17 from Canarese, 6 from Malayālam, 18 from Sanskrit, and 22 from Tamil.

Dr. N. Venkataramanayya has added another feather to his cap by the compilation and publication of the very valuable source-material and by making most of it avaliable for the first time to all scholars engaged in research in the History of Vijayanagar and laid them all under a deep debt of gratitude. These three volumes now published further embellish his name and fame, richly deserved, which he had already established by the publication of the "Studies in the Third Vijayanagar Dynasty," "The City and the Foundation of Vijayanagar", "The Muslim Expansion to the South", and last but not the least, the editing and publication of the "Velugōṭivārivamśā-

vaḷi"—works embodying his patient labours over a number of years which eminently fitted him to undertake the work under review. The work "Further Sources" is really an achievement which its authors may be rightly proud of.

The sources in this work fall, broadly speaking, into four distinct categories, namely, chronicles, literary works, inscriptions, taken particularly from the Mackenzie Manuscripts which have not yet been published, and Cātus. The kingdom of Vijayanagar was specially fortunate in having many chronicles in vernacular, a kind of unclassical historical literature, both general and local, like Kēraḷa Paḷama in Malayāḷam, Kōyiḻolugu, Karṇāṭadēśarāyakkalincaritram, Rāmappayyam Ammānai in Tamil, and Rāyavācakam, Vijayanagara Sāmrājyām, Karṇāṭa-rājyavṛttāntam, Narapativijayavṛttāntam and Rāyadurga-araśara-vaṁśāvaḷi, etc., all in Telugu, accounts very valuable in their own way which are either local tracts, or accounts of reigns of kings, or general accounts of the kingdom and its kings. One or two of these in Telugu were published long ago in the Telugu journal Bhārati by the Doctor himself, and a few by the late J. Ramayya Pantulu, one of the pioneers of Historical research in the Telugu country, in the Journal of the Telugu Academy. Besides these chronicles there are some beautiful poems describing the valour and exploits of Gani Timmā Nāyaka, Kasturi Rangappa Nāyaka, and Yācama Nāyaka, a few of the noted chiefs of the Vijayanagar period, and the lineage of the Toṇḍaimāns of Pudukkoṭṭa which was first published in the Journal of the Telugu Academy long ago. These poems are very valuable to us in as much as they furnish a good deal of historical information about these chiefs which is either not available otherwise, or which goes to corroborate the evidence already known to us.

It is not unreasonable to expect a short critical review of the four kinds of extracts, discussing therein, if possible, their date and nature of composition, their authorship, and other peculiarities if there are any. Of these Rāyavācakam is a short account about the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. It was already published in the form of a book by the Telugu Academy, Cocanada. Of course I am not unaware of the fact that it is difficult to ascertain the date and authorship of these chronicles. I do not know what Kēraḷa Paḷama is; similarly, about Haridāsa and his work Irusamaya-

viḷakkam, little is known to the students of history. At least a short introductory note at the beginning of an extract taken from each such particular source would have been very helpful to the student. I am aware of the fact that the first chapter of the valuable introduction has dealt with the general nature of the sources. Therein the development of the *praśasti* and *birudugadya* into a chronicle in Telugu has been shown. I do not know if this was the case in Tamil and Malayālam languages. Except tracing the growth of the chronicle nothing more has been said about the extracts. Some extracts have been taken from *kaḍitams* also. The student of history should know what a *kaḍitam* is. It would have been proper if some explanation of the term was given in the first chapter, what it means, how it was prepared, kept and so on.

It is interesting however to note that the date of composition of Rāyavācakam, one of the many Telugu chronicles, is given. It is said, perhaps for good reasons which are mentioned, "that the Rāyavācakam must have been written sometime after the foundation of Bhāgnagara, *i.e.*, after A.D. 1581."

Similarly, a short account of the Telugu literary works from which extracts were taken into this collection, would have also been of great value. The reader of these "Further Sources" knows neither about the authorship, nor about the date of composition of a great many of these works from which extracts were given. Many extracts were taken from works either printed and published already, or from those copies of which are either preserved in the Mackenzie Manuscripts or noted in the Triennial and Descriptive Catalogues of the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. No references are given generally to published works; but references are given to unpublished works as to their sources. Owing to some discrepancies in noting these references it is not quite possible to know which of the works have been already published and which are not.

A note about the Kumudvatīkalyāṇam seems to be necessary; for, this work has been brought to light for the first time now. Its existence is not known till now to any of the scholars or students of Telugu literature. There are no copies of this work either in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library or in the Tanjore Palace Library. Not even its

name is found in the Catalogues of any of the Manuscript Libraries. Only one copy and that too an incomplete one consisting of only three or four *āśvāsas* and not the whole work, is preserved, strangely to say, in the Adyar Library, Madras. Ananta, the author of this work is a later member of the Matli family, a descendant, probably a grandson if I remember right, of the Maṭli Chief, Ananta, the author of the Kākutstha Vijayam, and a vassal of Veṅkaṭapatidēvarāya II. The Siddhavaṭam inscription of this latter Ananta is dated in Śaka 1527 or A. D. 1605. A short general account about these Telugu works would have enabled the reader to understand properly and assess the value of the material used.

The whole of the first volume is, as stated already, a short account of Vijayanagar primarily based on the extracts given in the Second Volume. The author has utilised other Sources also, chiefly inscriptions, Muslim histories and Dutch records in writing this account. This account is very valuable as it contains very many new facts which were unknown till now to students of the History of Vijayanagar. Robert Sewell's Forgotten Empire more are less stops with the battle of Rākṣasa Tangaḍi (Talikōṭa). What was stated therein about the Āravīḍu dynasty is very little. Father Heras brought his account to a close in his work, the Āravīḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagar, with the reign of Veṅkaṭapatidēvarāya II. Now Dr. Venkataramanayya has given a complete account of the Āravīḍu dynasty of Vijayanagar till the end of the reign of Śrīraṅga III, the last Vijayanagar ruler. Hence we can unhesitatingly say that we have here for the first time a complete history of Vijayanagar, for which we have to thank the author.

Dr. Venkataramanayya's account develops itself into a regular history, particularly in the latter half rather than in the early one. The treatment of the reigns of early kings is very concise and meagre and the treatment of those of later kings is much elaborate. Of course, the latter portion of the account shows how the author has mastered the subject; he is now the proper Scholar to undertake to write the History of Vijayanagar.

Dr. Venkataramanayya has thrown, by his discussion on some of the knotty problems, a good deal of light in his introduction. Some of his opinions may not be conclusive, but

undoubtedly they are very helpful to promote further research. Particularly, the author has very ably and thoroughly discussed the great battle of Rākṣasa Tangaḍi. The author has added many valuable footnotes correcting the dates and explaining and elucidating a number of other things which enhance the value of the work.

Though the number of extracts is very great it may not be all exhaustive. There may remain some more which patient research may yet bring to light. In fact there are some. However, it may not be possible to ransack all the Source-material. Judged by the number of extracts in these volumes one will not fail to appreciate the work that the authors have done.

As stated before, a great number of the Vijayanagara chronicles are in Telugu. The language in which they were written is the Spoken dialect of the later Vijayanagar period in the Telugu country. The spoken Telugu language has much changed since then. Some of the words in these chronicles have become obsolete; the meaning of some of them is not known; some words are now used in a different meaning. There are many words in these extracts which have dropped out of current usage. Any attempt to explain such terms means a regular study of this language, the spoken Telugu current in those times. These extracts from the chronicle thus open a new vista of linguistic and philological research, which some of the Telugu linguists may well take up in earnest in the interest of the Telugu language.

M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA.

Pañca-prakriyā of Sarvajñātman with the commentaries of Ānandajñāna and Pūrṇavidaymuni. Edited by T. R. Chintamani. M. A., Ph. D. University of Madras. 1946. Price Rs 2/8-.

This is a short manual of Advaita Vedānta by Sarvajñātma Muni, who is a well-known exponent of the doctrine. The work, as indicated by its title, is divided into five sections. The first of them deals with the different kinds of meanings which a word may have (*śabda-vṛtti*), and shows how the suitability of these meanings depends upon the context in which the word is used. The reason for beginning the work with a consideration of this topic is the fact that the Vedānta system, as acknowledged by all its adherents, is based essentially

on the Veda, which is a form of verbal testimony. The next three sections treat of what are described as 'the great sayings' (*mahāvākyas*) of which *Tat tvam asi* is a familiar example, and point out how they should be interpreted in the light of the preceding discussion of word-meanings. The last section is devoted to the elucidation of the ideas of bondage and release. Dealing thus with the fundamentals of Advaita and being written in a simple style, the book will be of particular value to those who begin the study of the doctrine.

There is prefixed to the Sanskrit text a very interesting Introduction in English. It discusses chiefly two questions, the date of the author and the identity of one of the commentators, viz, Āanndajñāna, The discussion of the former question is much the more important of the two. It has been held since, at least the time of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, the author of the *advaita-siddhi*, that Sarvajñātman was a direct pupil of Sureśvara ; but the editor was all along contending that this tradition concerning the relation of Sureśvara and Sarvajñātman could not be correct. Here he brings to our notice fresh evidence, which all but finally establishes his contention. It is the citation in this work (p. 69) of a passage from the *Iṣṭasiddhi* whose author is known to have flourished considerably *after* Sureśvara.

Before concluding this review, it is our melancholy duty to refer to the very sad demise of the editor a few months ago, and the great loss caused thereby to Sanskrit scholarship. Dr. Chintamani had a genuine interest in Indological research. He was a frequent contributor to Journals and his contributions always evoked wide interest. He had a close knowledge of unpublished manuscripts in the various public libraries in South India and has edited several of them, some like the *Prakaṭārtha*—a commentary on Śaṅkarācārya's *bhāṣya* on the Vedānta Sūtra—being of great importance to students of ancient Indian thought. He would surely have brought to light more works of the same type had he been spared; but that was not to be. He was only about 45 years old when he passed away.

M. H.

Critical Word-Index to the Bhagavad Gītā. By Rao Bahadur Prahlad C. Diwanji, Retd. Judge, Bombay. New Book Co., Ltd. 188/190, Hornby Road, Bombay. Rs. 12-0-0.

Busy as he had been as a member of the Judiciary of the Bombay Presidency, Mr. P. C. Diwanji has been an active research scholar and author throughout his official career, and during his present period of retirement too, he is continuing his research persuits despite his advancing age. Besides some legal works, he has produced a few literary pieces too in Gujarathi. In the field of Sanskrit research, he is well-known for his many papers on Philosphical problems and classics and for his editions of the Siddhānta Bindu and Prasthānabheda. Recently he has been persuing the intensive study of the text and recensions of the Yogavāṣiṣṭha.

The book under review is a substantial production of his, having been compiled with great care and diligence. It is a complete Index Verborum and Dictionary of the Gītā, giving in a compact form the complete critical text-material of the Gītā with all the variant readings of the Vulgate, the Kasmirian version and the differences as found in the severel well-known commentators.

The work is in three parts, Primary Word-Units, Secondary, Tertiary and Quaternary Word-Units, and consolidated Index of the Primary and Subsidiary Word-Units. Under each head, there are two sections, noticing separately the Vulgate and Kasmirian recensions. In the Primary word-unit Index, a word is given, described grammatically, rendered into English and provided with reference to the place or places of its occurance. Sometimes, the note on the meaning and significance of a word is found in some detail. In an Indroduction, he explains the origin, need and plan of this Index of the Gītā.

Sri P. C. Dewanji deserves the thanks of all Gītā-students for this most valuable compilation.

V. R.

OBITUARY NOTICES.

Dr. T. R. Chintamani.

It is with deep regret that we have to record here the pre-mature demise of the well-known Sanskrit scholar, Dr. T. R. Chintamani of the Sanskrit Dept. of the Madras University.

Dr. Chintamani hailed from a family devoted to Vedic and Vedantic studies, two of his near kinsmen being the well-known Pandits Sri T. V. Ramachandra Dikshitar and Śri Venkatesvara Dikshitar. A student of the late Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastriar, Dr. Chintamani passed out of the Sanskrit Dept. of the Presidency College, Madras, with medals and prizes. He then worked on Semantics as a Research student in the Madras University, and later worked for some time in the Adyar Library and Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore. He was then appointed Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit in the Oriental Institute of the University of Madras, which post he held till his sad demise on 24th August, 1947.

As examiner and member of Boards of studies, he was connected with most of the South Indian Universities. A member of Oriental Conference Committee for some time, he also presided over its Indian Philosophy section at its recent Nagpur Session. He was actively connected with the Sanskrit Academy, Madras, the Ranade Library, Madras and the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras. For several years, he was intimately connected with the Journal of Oriental Research.

Dr. Chinamani wrote many articles in Research Journals, but his concentrated work was mainly on the editing of Sanskrit works from manuscripts. Editions of the following works stand to his credit:—

1. Uṇādi Sūtras in various recensions—4 Vols.
2. Prakaṭārthavivaraṇa—2 Vols.
3. Nānārthasaṁgraha of Ajayapāla
4. Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa of Bhoja
5. Sāhityaratnākara of Yajñanārāyaṇa
6. Raghunāthābhyudaya of Rāmabhadrāmbā

7. Sarvatobhadra of Rāmakaṇṭha

8. Śārīrakanyāyasaṁgraha

9. The Kauṣītaka Gṛhya Sūtras with Bhavatrāta's Commentary

10. The Pañcaprakriyā of Sarvajñātman with two commentaries

11. Vyavahāraśiromani

In the J. O. R., Madras, he published the following notes, articles and editions of fragments and short works:

1. Date of Śrīkaṅṭha and his Brahmamīmāmsā
2. Note on the authorship of the Uṇādi Sūtras
3. Fragments of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka
4. ,, Mātṛgupta
5. Note on the Cārvāka system
6. ,, Manoratha
7. ,, Mahodadhi and Mahāvrata
8. ,, Date of Tattvasamāsa
9. ,, ,, Sāmkhyapravacana Sūtras
10. ,, ,, Māgha
11. Skandasvāmin's commentary on Nirukta
12. Works of Prabhākara
13. Śrī Śātyāyana Brāhmaṇa
14. Date of Śaṅkarācārya and some of his Predecessors
15. Mahratta Hill Fortresses
16. Lakṣaṇaratnāvalī of Appayya Dīkṣita
17. Amarakhaṇḍana of Śrī Harṣa

18-19. Adhikarana Saṅgati and Adhikarana Mañjarī of Citsukha (with T. V. Ramachandra Dikshitar)

20. A commentary on Amarakośa
21. Subhūticandra's commentary on Amarakośa
22. Vidyāvinoda Nārāyaṇa's ,, ,,

23. Pramāṇalakṣaṇa of Sarvajñātmān-unfinished (with T. V. Ramachandra Dikshitar).

24. Fragments of Sumantu Dharma Sūtras
25. Citrapaṭa of Appayya Dīkṣita
26. Fragments of Kāśyapa Dharma Sūtras

For his Doctorate, he wrote a thesis on the Literary History of Pūrva Mīmāṁsā, two instalments of which appeared in print in the J. O. R. He had also collaborated with the late Mm. Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri in his edition of Dhvanyāloka (Ud. I).

He contributed also some papers to some of the Oriental Conference sessions and some Commemoration Volumes. Among his contributions in other Research Journals may be mentioned his two contributions in the *IHQ*, Calcutta, the Yuddhakāṇḍa Campū of Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita and Brahmānanda Yati's Brahmasūtra Bhaṣyārtha Saṁgraha.

RAO BAHADUR C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU.

Rao Bahadur C. R. K. Charlu, Retired Epigraphist for the Government of India, who had been ailing for sometime, passed away on the evening of August 1931 at the age of 60 at his residence in 18, Ramanujam Street, Thyagarayanagar.

Mr. C. R. K. Charlu made his mark in research by orginality and insight. Besides the numerous inscriptions which he edited for the Epigraphia Indica and the Hyderabad Archaeological Department, he made valuable contributions to the interpretation of ancient Indian History. He wrote a monograph on the 'Cradle of Indian History', in which he drew pointed attention to the mass of historical material that lay embedded in our Puranas. Besides his published works, he left behind two manuscripts, the Telingana Inscriptions, and the Mahabharata Index, ready for the press.

DR. M. H. KRISHNA.

On 23rd December 1947, Dr. M. H. Krishna, Director of Archaeology, Mysore passed away, at Mysore. He was also for several years one of the Secretaries of the All-India Oriental Conference.

PLURAL SUFFIXES IN THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

BY

M. MARIAPPA BHAT, M. A., L. T.,

Head of the Kannada Department, University of Madras

What is the history of pluralisation in the Dravidian languages? In those ancient languages, today, we find innumerable pluralising particles which on careful observation tend to show a unity in diversity and thereby throw some light on this grammatical point in the Primitive Dravidian tongue.

To many it may sound strange when we state that at one stage in the history of the Dravidian languages—in those bygone ages—there did not exist in the language any pluralising suffix. To some extent even as in the Malayalam of today where the gender of the verb is being understood by the context and not by the verbal terminations, so in the Primitive Dravidian languages, number was being understood by the context. This point has been hinted at by the eminent philologist Dr. Caldwell who says, 'The poets and the peasants, the most faithful guardians of antique forms of speech rarely pluralise the neuter and are fond of using the singular noun in an indefinite singular-plural sense, without specification of number, except in so far as it is expressed by the context. Hence they will rather say "nālu māḍu mēygiradu" (literally four ox is feeding) than "nālu māḍugaḷ mēygindrana" (four oxen are feeding) which would sound stiff and pedantic.' Dr. Caldwell has pointed out this as an example to show that they rarely pluralise the neuter. What Dr. Caldwell says regarding neuter plurals in Tamil holds good in the case of other Dravidian languages. But can we go a step further and quoting from Tuḷu, one of the ancient languages in the Dravidian group, state that pluralising was unknown even with the masculine-feminine or highcaste nouns? Therein it is more idiomatic to say "patt āḷu benpuṇḍu" (literally ten person is working) than, say, "patt āḷu (ku) ḷu benper" (ten persons are working). It is quite probable that the other languages of the family during their progress invented those subtle distinctions of number etc., and dropped out of use the primitive way while Tulu, the uncultivated language of the group has retained the

old usages too. Hence, we may go further than Caldwell and say that the number of all Dravidian nouns whether high-caste or casteless was originally indefinite. The singular, the primitive condition of every noun, was then the only number which was or could be recognised by nominal or verbal inflexion and plurality was left to be inferred by the context.

So, with this evidence before us, we may safely conclude with what Dr. Caldwell hinted at that as civilisation made progress, the plural made its appearance and effected a permanent settlement in the department of high-caste or masculine-feminine nouns, while the number of casteless or neuter nouns, whether suffixes of plurality were used or not, still remained generally unrecognised by the verb in the Dravidian languages.

The various plural suffixes in the Dravidian Languages

Let us take into consideration the multifarious plural suffixes in some of the important Dravidian languages and try to trace their historical growth and ramifications:—

Pluralising suffixes	Kannada	Tamil	Malayalam	Telugu	Tulu
'm'	nām (we) nīm (you. pl.)	yām, nām, nīr, nīvir, niyir.	nānnal nām ninnal nom	mēmu mīru	namo īr
'ar'	avar (they) arasar (kings) bandar (have come)	avar	avar araśar	vāru rājulu	
'ār'	bandār (Inscriptions)	vandār		vaccināru	
'mar'		Pillai-mar	Kaḷḷan-mar		
'mār'		Pillai-mār (Pillais).	Kaḷḷan-mār (Thieves)		
'ōr'	Kōṭṭōr (Donors) (Inscriptions)	Koḍuttōr	Koduttōr		
'ir'	Peṇḍir (wives)	Peṇḍir	vannir	vacciri	
'vir'	Tāyvir (mothers)	Tāymir			
'dir'	Appandir (fathers)	Ayyandir			
'kaḷ'	Tandegaḷ (fathers)	Tandegaḷ	Nārigaḷ	purushulu	Akuḷu (they)
'lu'	Bandāḷo (They came) (dialect).			purushulu	Poṇṇuḷu (ladies)

Pluralising suffixes	Kannada	Tamil	Malayalam	Telugu	Tulu
'ko'	Makko (Children) āḷugo (servants)	(dialect)			
'a' or 'avu'	avu (they-neuter) Piriyavu (big ones).	avai (they, neuter)	ava (they)	avi (they)	avu (it and they).

From the foregoing tables we see that when reduced to the simplest, there are four pluralising suffixes (1) 'm', (2) 'ar', with all its ramifications, (3) 'kaḷ', with its superb guises and (4) 'a' or 'avu'. Today it is rather hard to trace any semblance among these four suffixes and state at what period in the history of the Dravidian languages these developments took place.

The very ancient suffix 'm' is used in almost all the Dravidian languages for pluralising the first and the second personal pronouns. However in the case of Tamil, Telugu and Tulu, for the second person plural, 'nir' 'mīru' and 'īr' are used. As is natural, this must have been in vogue long before the third personal pronouns began to be pluralised and the gender idea got settled.

Between 'ar' and 'kaḷ', it is extremely difficult to choose which of the two is more ancient. In spite of the earliest grammarian of Tamil, Tolkāppiyar, having mentioned 'kaḷ' as the plural suffix confined to neuter nouns, we have instances in early inscriptions, where 'kaḷ' was used as an epicene plural suffix and it is quite probable that long before the gender idea got settled on the people, if at all there was a plural number idea, it may not be wrong to assume that at some time, in the dim beginnings of our languages, one common particle was being used, if at an earlier time no such distinction was made and the number was indefinite.

I am inclined to think that what has been dubbed as the neuter plural suffix, namely, 'kaḷ' or 'a' or 'avu' must be primitive and the common suffix for the following reasons :

(1) Though 'ar' may be restricted to the epicene group, 'kaḷ' is used for all the neuter as well as many a high-caste noun, which fact proves the universal applicability and greater hold of 'kaḷ' over the language than 'ar' which must be a later

importation or derivation to fulfil a particular need. In fact 'kaḷ' may be used to pluralise all nouns.

(2) Telugu, one of the important members of the Dravidian group, employs 'lu', a guise of 'kaḷ' for epicene plurals.

(3) In Malayalam, the plural form of the second person is ninnal and there is no other form for the same. Since first and second person plurals must be more ancient and Malayalam has retained many primitive forms of speech, 'kaḷ' may be a high class plural suffix.

4. In some of the pluralised forms of the high-caste nouns like 'makkaḷ', 'peṇgaḷ,' 'āṇulu', 'gurugaḷ', 'aḍigaḷ', the suffiix 'ar' is almost unknown.

The hold of 'kaḷ' over the language must have been so great that due to sheer forces of habit for ages people must have felt that the pluralising was incomplete—a kind of void—without the affixation of 'kaḷ' which alone they thought was the real pluralising particle. Hence, the double plurals and honorific plurals, 'dēvarkaḷ', 'avargaḷ', etc.

5. In some of the old dialects which can be expected to retain several of the old constructions of grammar, we come across the epicene plurals of the form 'āḷugo,, 'ācārigo', 'Bhaṭṭakko' (retaining only the 'k' portion of 'kaḷ'). The first and second person plurals are 'engo' and 'ningo' (no "m" suffix at all).

6. In some of the dialects the epicene plural verb is 'bandalo' (they have come) 'uṇḍalo' (they have eaten); 'lo' is the plural suffix, 'k' having been dropped.

7. In some of the ancient dialects, 'avu' is used for the epicene third personal pronoun in the place of 'avar' with the least feeling of indecency or inconvenience. Avu ibbar battavu (They two-persons-are coming).

Thus, there must have been a time in the history of the language, when 'avu' the neuter plural suffix was used for the epicene plurals and that practice is retained to this day in some of the dialects, as instanced above.

As civilisation advanced, and the gender idea got infixed, 'ar' must have forced itself on the high-caste nouns and effected a permanent setttlement therein; 'ar' with its multifarious alternative forms such as 'ar', 'ir', 'Ir', 'vir', 'bar', 'dir', 'or', etc., has been able to preserve its high caste

in not allowing itself to be appended to neuter nouns. But it is interesting to note that 'ar' has not been successful in keeping 'kaḷ' and its retinue out of bounds. There must have been a confusion regarding the use of these suffixes. Grammarians, like the author of Tolkāppiyam, must have felt the necessity for drawing a line between the pluralising suffixes of the high-caste and neuter nouns and given the verdict that 'kaḷ' be confined to neuter plurals, and 'ar' forms to the high-caste plurals. But no grammarians' legislation could check the influence of the old 'kaḷ'. We find 'ar' forms employed for pluralising the epicene in all the early literatures and inscriptions and it is interesting to note that 'r' is an essential particle of the pluralising suffix. Doctor Caldwell is of opinion that 'r' was always preceded by a vowel and due to vowel harmony in particular situations and the genius of each dialect, it assumed these various forms, but always retained the 'r'.

In certain cases 'a', 'ar', 'avar' and in the pluarls like 'bandavar', the 'va' is dropped and there was an elongation resulting in 'bandōr' ('ōr' suffix). Perhaps during the time of Kesiraja (reputed Kannada Grammarian of the 13th century) 'ōr' suffix fell into disuse. The 'ar' and 'ir' suffix in combination earned the augments 'b', 'v', 'ar', ('enbar', 'tāyvir', 'etc.') which later on came to be separated and used independently as plural particles such as 'dir', 'vir', 'bar', 'mar', 'mār', etc.

Perhaps in the universal suffix 'kaḷ', 'k'may be an augment particle in the case of certain words, which later on became part and parcel of the suffix on separation.

A NOTE ON THE NAṀPALI GRANT OF YUVARĀJA RAJENDRAVARMA-GAṄGA YEAR 314

BY

G. RAMADAS, *Jeypore*

While looking into the old Epigraphical Reports of Madras, I saw in the Report for 1934-35, App. A. No. 21 that this charter was edited in the Journal of Oriental Research by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri Avl., M. A. (JOR. IX. 1935. pp. 59—63). I requested him to send me a copy of his article, if he had one with him. I owe him many thanks for readily complying with my request. I request him to excuse me if I make bold to write below my notes on the above mentioned Gaṅga document.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE DONOR:—Yuvarāja Rājendravarma, the son of Mahārāja Anantavarma is said by the Professor to be a "Yuvarāja by the side of a ruling sovereign." The Superintendent of Epigraphy, by entering the name of Anantavarma in the col. King (op. cit.), appears to hold the same opinion. Let us examine this with reference to the Gaṅga copper plates dated in the early decades of the fourth century of the Gaṅga era.

1. THE ALAMAṆḌA PLATES OF ANANTAVARMA (E. I. Vol. III. p. 18*f*) say that Anantavarma, son of Rājendravarma, granted a land in the Gaṅga year 304.

2. The Indian Museum plates of Devendravarma (E.I. Vol. XXIII. No. 12) say that Devendravarma, son of Rājendravarma, granted a land in the Gaṅga year 308.

3. The Tekkali plates of Devendravarma (E.I. Vol. XVIII p. 312 *ff*) say that Devendravarma son of Rājendravarma granted land in the Gaṅga year 310.

From these records it can be observed that both Anantavarma (No. 1) and Devendravarma (Nos. 2 and 3) were the sons of Rājendravarma; and that the former was ruling in Gaṅga year 304 and the latter, in Gaṅga year 308 and 310. Devendravarma certainly succeeded his elder brother, Anantavarma who died before the Gaṅga year 308. Since the Nāmpili plates of Yuvarāja Rājendravarma are dated in the Gaṅga

year 314, this Rājendravarma, though the son of Anantavarma, the elder brother of the reigning sovereign Devendravarma was the Yuvarāja during the reign of his uncle. He might have been very young when his father Anantavarma died. As Mahārāja, he issued the Mandasa plates (M.E.R. 1917-18 App. A. no. 13 & p. 137).

In the Gaṅga family it appears to be a custom to nominate a Yuvarāja, a successor to the Government. The Vizagapatam plates of Choḍagaṅgadeva, Śaka Śaṁvat 1040 (I.A. Vol. XIII. no. 179) tell us that Kāmārṇava invested his brother, Dānārṇava, with a necklace. Professor Bülher suggested, the necklace seems to have been a sign of the dignity of a *Yuvarāja* (I.A. Vol. VI. p. 70 note & Vol. XI. p. 161, note 27). The present gives an epigraphical proof of the custom of creating a *Yuvarāja* that had been in vogue in the Gaṅga dynasty. This Rājendravarma, who was the *Yuvarāja* in the time of his uncle, Devendravarma, was the same as the Mahārāja Rājendravarma, son of Anantavarma who gave the grant recorded in the Mandasa plates of Gaṅga Year 342 (M.E.R., 1917-18 App. A. no. 13 & p. 137). The geneology of these three Kings is shown in the table appended herewith.

THE PLACE NAMES:—The Professor read the name of the *Vishaya* as *Nidijēru*. In the Epigraphical Report it is read as Niriñjēvuru. On careful examintion of the letters in the facsimile, I found the third letter is *ñje-* c.f. *mañjī* and *Puñja* in l. 8. With regard to the second letter, I am sure, it is not *da* c.f. *da* in *dayā-dāna* in l. 10. In the inscriptions on the pillars and walls of the temple in Nārāyaṇapuram in the Bobbili taluk, the *liṅga* in the temple is named *Nitīśvara* of Niriñjevuru (M.E.R. 1926, App. B. Nos. 638-692). The inscription No. 644 states that a gift made in Śaka 869 (A.D. 9. 47) was renewed in Śaka 1066 (A.D. 1144). The god, in some inscriptions, is said to be Nitīśvara of Nāvapalli. The name Nārāyaṇapuram (the present name) is mentioned in only one epigraph (no. 672) dated in the cyclic year *Vikriti, māgha ba Thursday*. The old name of the village was Navapali (Nāmpali is a modified form) and the country around it was Niriñjēru (*Nidiñjēru* of the plates).

The temple here shows many features of antiquity. As stated in the inscription No. 644, the temple must have been very popular in the year 947. It is one of the three structures still standing to proclaim to the world that Kaliṅga had

developed its own art and architecture. So long ago as 1925, I read a paper in the Kalinga Conference held at Mukhalingam—a paper in Telugu on Kalinga Art. It is published in the *Kalingadeśa Charita,* pp. 345 ff. under the caption *Kaliṅga-śilpamu.* The ruins of a mud fort exist to the south of the temple. From the present charter we learn that the village of Nārāyaṇapuram existed in those old forgotten days as Navapili or Nāṁpili.

The Date:—The Professor said, 'the initial year of the Gaṅga era is generally taken to be 485-6 A.D. and cites the Indian Antiquary, 1933, p. 237 for his authority. The scholars that have edited the grants of Gaṅga kings did not mention this year at all. Perhaps the Professor is not aware of the criticism of this conclusion in J.B.O.R.S. Vol. IX, under the caption 'the *Initial Date of the Gaṅga Era*'. R.N. Ghoshal in editing a copper plate in E.I. Vol. XXV, No. 20 says, 'the epoch of the era (Gaṅga) being still unsettled, it is hazardous to attempt at any sure estimation of its correct age."

So it cannot be accepted that the present plates belong to A.D. 809-10 as estimated by the Professor.

Geneology of the Gaṅga Kings of the 4th century of their era.

Rājendravarma

Anantavarma
G.E. 304 (E.I., Vol. III, p. 18 f.)

Rājendravarma
G.E. 314 Yuvarāja (above)
G.E. 342 Mahārāja (M.E.R. 1917-18 App. No. 13, p. 137)

Devendravarma
G.E. 308 (E.I., Vol. XXIII, No. 12)
G.E. 310 (E.I., Vol. XVIII, p. 312 f.)

A NOTE ON THE PĀGUṆĀRA VIṢAYA

BY

M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA

Pāguṇāra was one of the very ancient districts of the Andhra country. This territorial division finds mention, for the first time, in the Tāṇḍivāḍa plates[1] of Pṛithivī Mahārāja, which are tentatively ascribed to the seventh century of the Christian era. The donor Pṛithivī Mahārāja grants the village of Tāṇḍivāḍa in the Pāguṇāra Viṣaya as an agrahāra to a number of Brāhmans. Many Eastern Cāḷukya kings of the Andhra country gave grants of villages to Brāhmans in this territorial division. The earliest of such kings was Sarvalōkāśraya alias Maṅgi Yuvarāja, son of Viṣṇuvardhana II. The village he granted was Boṇḍāḍanoṟti[2], which is identical with the present village of Boṇḍāḍa in the Bhimavaram taluk, West Godavari district. The villages Permañjili[3], Dinakāḍu[4], Diggumbaṟṟu[5], Tāṇḍēru[6] and Prāndoṟu granted to Brāhmans by Viṣṇuvardhana III, son of Maṅgi Yuvarāja, Vijayāditya I, son of Viṣṇuvardhana III, Cāḷukya Bhīma II, grandson of Cāḷukya Bhīma I and by Ammarāja II Vijayāditya, son of Cāḷukya Bhīma II respectively, were all situated in the Pāguṇāra Viṣaya.

Inscriptions both lithic and copper-plate of the early mediaeval period, reveal to us some more villages belonging to the Pāguṇāra Viṣaya which was also mentioned as Pāvunāra, Pāguṇavāra, Pāvunavāra, Pāvanavāra and Pānāra in the inscriptions of the twelfth century A. D. According to these records Taṇuku[7], Meṭṭa-Gumalūru[8], Duttika[9] and Kōṇḍēru[10] all belong to this district.

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1. J. O. R., Vol. IX, pp. 188 ff.
2. A. S. P. P., Vol. II, p. 215 ff.
3. C. P., No. 6 of 1913-14.
4. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. V. pp.
5. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 213 ff.
6. Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 131 ff.
7. S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 1298.
8. Ibid. Vol. V. No. 75.
9. Ibid. Vol. VI, No. 148.
10. Ep. Coll., Nos. 734, 736 and 744 of 1920.

The villages cited as boundaries in the copper-plate records of the agrahāras in the Pāguṇāra Viṣaya granted to Brāhmans by kings of yore, may also be generally taken to have belonged to the same territorial division. If this proposition is accepted, we come to know of some more villages which lay in this Viṣaya in ancient times. Bētipūṇḍi and Rāvipaṟṟu were cited as boundaries to the village of Tāṇḍēru. The Śrīraṅgam plates[1] of Mummaḍi Nāyaka of Kōṭukoṇḍa register the grant of the village of Koṭṭāḷḷapaṟṟu to God Śrīraṅganātha in Śaka 1280. This village is stated to have been situated in the Pānāra country. The villages cited as its boundaries are Māṟēḍēṟu, Naṅgipūḍi, Penukoṇḍa, Ceṟakuvāḍa, Monaṁbaṟṟu, Tāmaravāḍa, Villūru, Asaṇṭa and Dēva. All these villages exist now and can be easily identified.

All the villages belonging to this territorial division which are known to us from copper-plate and lithic records are given below in a tabular form with their ancient names and their modern equivalents.

Ancient name of the village.	Its modern name.	Taluk and district in which it is at present situated.	
Permañjili	Penumanchili	Narasapuram	West Godavary
Krāñja	Kaja	"	"
Moṭṭapaṟiti	Mattaparru	"	"
Diggumbaṟṟu	Digumarru	"	"
Meṭṭa Gumalūru	Gummaluru	"	"
Rāvipaṟṟu	Ravipadu (?)	"	"
Kōṇḍēru	Koderu	"	"
Villūru	Villuru	"	"
Asaṇṭa	Atchanta	"	"
Dēva	Deva		
Prāndoṟu	Panduvva (?)	Bhimavaram	"
Boṇḍāḍanoṟti	Bondada	"	"
Bētipūḍi	Betapudi	"	"
Tāṇḍēru	Taderu	"	"
Rākhataram	Rakuduru	"	"
Taṇuku	Tanuku	Tanuku	"
Koṭṭāḷḷapaṟṟu	Kothalaparru	"	"
Māṟēḍēṟu	Maruteru	"	"
Naṅgipūḍi	Neggipudi	"	
Penukoṇḍa	Penugonda	"	"
Ceṟakuvāḍa	Cherukuvada	"	"
Monaṁbaṟṟu	Munamarru	"	"
Tāmaravāḍa	Tamarada	"	"
Duttika	Juttiga	"	"

The above table shows that the ancient territorial division of Pāguṇāra comprised the modern taluks of Narasapuram, Bhimavaram and some portion of the Tanuku taluk of West Godavari district, and extended upto the Vaśiṣṭhā, one of the

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, pp. 83 ff.

traditional seven branches of the Gautamī in the North and to the sea in the East.

The villages Dinakāḍu, Tāṇḍivāḍa, Kranūḷa, and Palakonu belonging to this country are still unidentifiable. If the name Palakonu is presumed to have been wrongly written for Palakolanu, then it may be taken to be identical with Pālakolanu, the modern Palakollu in the Narsapuram taluk, West Godavari district.

The Pāguṇāra is mentioned, as has already been stated, as Pāvunāra, Pāvanavāra, Pānāra and so on in ancient inscriptions. All these forms are, no doubt, the later variants of the same term Pāguṇāra, *gu* having been changed into *vu* in common parlance. The change from Pāguṇāra, Pāvunāra, Pāguṇavāra, and Pāvunavāra to Pānāra, the form that was in use in the fourteenth century, can be easily accounted for philologically.

Of all the variants cited above, Pāguṇāra found in the Tāṇḍivāḍa plates of Pṛithivī Mahārāja is the earliest one. There seems however to be a still earlier form, namely Prākuṇāra. This form finds mention in one of the late Eastern Cāḷukya grants — a record of the Eastern Cāḷukya king, Vijayāditya I ; yet it appears to be an earlier variant of the term Pāguṇāra. The latter is no doubt a developed form of Prākuṇāra. The *r* in *Prā* was dropped and *ku* in *Kuṇāra* was changed into *gu* in course of time yielding the modern form Pāguṇāra. Hence, Pāguṇāra, Pāvunāra, Pāguṇavāra, Pāvunavāra, Pāvanavāra and Pānāra are all the successive developed variants of the same term Prākuṇāra.

How did this territorial division derive this name ? What does the term Prākuṇāra signify? In other words, what is the meaning of Prākuṇāra ? It seems as if the clue to answer this question lies in the name itself. The word Prākuṇāra may be conveniently split up into two separate terms, namely, *prā* and *Kuṇāra*. *Kuṇāra,* the second member of the compound-word bears close analogy with the Prākṛit or the Dēśī term Kuṇāla or Kunāḷa, the great *jaladurga* conquered by the Early Cāḷukyan Emperor, Pulakēśin II. Kunāḷa[1] was identified with Kuḷanu or Kolanu, the modern Kollēru in West Godavari district. *La* and *ra* are interchangeable in Prākṛit. So Kuṇāla seems to be identical with Kuṇāra. *Prā,* the first member of the

1. Ep. Ind. Vol. VI, p. 3.

compound may mean old (as in *Prā-jaduvulu*), or may be taken to be the abridged or contracted form of *Prāk* which means east or eastern. *Prā+Kuṇāra* becomes Prāguṇāra. Similarly *Prāk+Kuṇāra* becomes Prākkuṇāra and Prākuṇāra and later on, when *r* is dropped, Pākuṇāra and Pāguṇāra. If the former is taken into account, the word Prākuṇāra means old Kuṇāra country, and the latter means the Eastern Kuṇāra country. In any case, it is certain that this territorial division derives its name from Kuṇāla, the modern Kollēru. The taluks of Narasapuram, Bhimavaram, and some portion of the Tanuku taluk—all lie to the east of the great fresh water lake. It may be interesting to note here that one of the legendary sons of the Mauryan emperor Aśōka, whose edicts were discovered at Yeṟṟaguḍi in the Andhra country and Jaugaḍa in Kaḷiṅga, bears the name Kuṇāla. We do not know if this *Jaladurga* of Kuṇāla had anything to do with this legendary son of Aśōka.

The fresh water lake in the West Godavari District is now called Kollēru. The strong fortress that was situated in the midst of this lake appears to have been in existence even in the twelfth century. It was called Kolanuvīḍu in the Telugu records of the early twelfth century, and it was mentioned as Sarasīpurī and Kolanupura in the Eastern Cāḷukyan grants of the pre-Nannaya period. In the seventh century A.D., it had the name of Kuṇāla. There seems to be another earlier name of this fort. The term Kunāla bears striking resemblance to the word Kurāḷa, the king of which was mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription[1] of the Gupta emperor, Samudragupta. From this pillar record we come to know that Samudragupta conquered, in the course of his southern campaign, a number of kings ruling in the Dakṣiṇāpatha, of whom Maṇṭarāja of Kurāḷa was one. This king is mentioned in the above record as Kaurāḷaka Maṇṭarāja, that is, Maṇṭarāja belonging to or a resident of Kurāḷa. He is mentioned along with Vaiṅgēyaka-Hastivarman, that is, Hastivarman of Vēṅgī. As the above mentioned pillar record alludes to him subsequent to the king of Piṣṭhapura and prior to Viṣṇugōpa, lord of Kāñcī, Kurāḷa must have been within these two limits, Piṣṭhapura and Kāñci. As Maṇṭarāja and Hastivarman were mentioned in close succession it may not be unreasonable to think that Kurāḷa

1. Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 7.

lay in the proximity of Vēṅgī, the famous capital of the Śālaṅkāyana kings. If *r* and *n* are accepted to be interchangable, one need not strain much to say that Kurāḷa and Kunāḷa are identical. As a matter of fact, Professor Kielhorn[1] had already correctly identified Kurāḷa with Kollēru while trying to interpret the term *Kāunāḷam*. It therefore seems probable that the fortress which was conquered by Samudragupta and Pulakēśin II respectively in the fourth and seventh centuries A.D., was called both Kurāḷa and Kunāḷa, the two terms which had given rise to the two modern names Kollēru and Kolanu. These modern names appear to have been only the changed and developed forms of the old terms.

The foregoing discussion makes it clear that the Pāguṇāra country derived its name from the ancient Kurāḷa, Kuṇāla or Kuṇāra.

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 3, vide f. n. 3.

THE DATE OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLES OF HAZĀRA - RĀMASVĀMI AND VIṬṬHALA AT VIJAYANAGARA

BY

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M.A., PH.D.

Nearly half a century ago, Robert Sewell stated, in his well-known history of Vijayanagara, *A Forgotten Empire*, that Emperor Kṛṣṇadēvarāya built in his capital temples dedicated tó gods, Hazāra - Rāmasvāmi and Viṭṭhalasvāmi. "In the same year (*i.e.* A.D. 1513)," says he, "he commenced the temple of *Hazāra-Rāmasvāmi* at the palace, the architecture of which leads Mr. Rea to think that it was not finished till a later period." "He also appears to have begun the construction of the temple of Viṭṭhalasvāmi on the river bank, the most ornate of all the religious edifices of the kingdom.... The work was continued during the reign of Krishṇa Dēva's successors, Achyuta and Sadāśiva, and was probably stopped only by the destruction of the city in 1565."[1] These statements have been accepted as true by all writers on the subject ever since, though there is no evidence in support of them.

I

In the temple of Hazāra-Rāmasvāmi, four records are found inscribed on the base and the walls of the prākāra, of which two belong to the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. The first dated Ś. 1435 (A.D. 1513), registers the gift by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya of some villages to god Rāmacandradēva of his capital city on the occasion of a solar eclipse.[2] The second, dated S. 1443 (A.D. 1521), refers to a gift of land and the construction of *Utsava-maṇṭapa* in front of the temple on the northern side by Timmarāja, son of Cika Timmayadēva Mahārāja of the Ēṛuva branch of the Telugu Cōḷa family, a subordinate of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.[3] Neither of these two epigraphs refers to the construction of the temple of Hazāra - Rāmasvāmi, though the second mentions indirectly the addition of an *Utsava-maṇṭapa* to it. The temple was already in existence;

1. *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 161-2, 163.
2. SII. IV. 253.
3. *Ibid.*, 250.

Kṛṣṇadēvarāya made a gift for the continuance of daily offerings; and his subordinate built an additional *maṇṭapa* for the reception of the deity during the festival in the month of Caitra. Of the other two, one dated in the cyclic year Śrīmukha, records the gift of a golden plate to the god by a certain Aṇṇaladēvi, whose identity cannot be definitely established.[4] The emperor Kṛṣṇadēvarāya had, no doubt, a queen called Annapūrṇādēvī;[5] but as the cyclic year Durmukhi did not fall in the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, but in the middle of that of his successor, Acyuta (S. 1458), it is doubtful whether she could have been identical with Kṛṣṇadēva's queen. The other is undated.[6] Though short, consisting of a single ślōka in the ārya metre, it deserves careful consideration. It runs thus:—

> "*Vāṇ=īva Bhōjarājam Tripurāmbā Vatsarājam=iva*|
> *Kāḷ=īva Vikramārkam Kalayati Pamp=ādya*
> *Dēvarāyanṛpam*||."

The verse, it is true, does not refer to Hazāra-Rāmasvāmi or his shrine; but, as it is inscribed on the basement of the shrine, it indicates that at least the basement or part of it, if not the whole temple, was in existence since the time of one of the two Dēvarāya's that ruled at Vijayanagara. This, however, gives rise to an interesting question: how did this verse referring to the goddess Pampā, and her devotee Dēvarāya come to be engraved on the basement of a temple dedicated to god Śri Rāma? Two answers are possible to this question: (1) that the stone containing the inscription which belonged to a temple of the goddess Pampā was picked up by the builders of the Hazāra-Rāma temple and built into its basement; or, (2) what is more likely, that there stood originally at the site a temple of Pampā which was later converted into a temple of Rāma, due to the influence of the Vaiṣṇava creed.

The story narrated in the *Prapannāmṛtam*, a traditional account of Śrīvaiṣṇavism in South India, about the conversion of king Virūpākṣa of Vijayanagara, may be taken into consideration in this connection. According to this story, a poor Śrīvaiṣṇava brahman, Eṭṭūr Nṛsiṁhācārya by name, accompanied

4. SII. IV 251.
5. *Āmuktamālyada* 1: 38.
6. SII. IV 252.

by his younger brother, set out for Vijayanagara to make a living by expounding the *Rāmāyaṇa*. By the time they arrived at Vijayanagara, night had already set in. When they passed on their way in front of a palatial building, attracted by the bustle, they entered it mistaking it for the palace of the king. On their approach, the attendants readily admitted them in the hall, where the king, attended by his councillors and dependents, was holding his court. He received them with respect and enquired who they were, and why they came to the palace. When they told him their story, he asked them to repair secretly every night to the place and expound the *Rāmāyaṇa* for which they would receive a *niṣka* per night. They did accordingly. On the night when they read the *sarga* describing the *Śrī Rāma Paṭṭābhiṣēka*, the king and the courtiers presenting them many thousands of gold coins and precious stones, told them that the people to whom they had been expounding *Rāmāyaṇa* so far, were not men but actually the ghosts of the king, his ministers and dependents, whom the then reigning king Virūpākṣa had murdered; that, as they made it impossible for their murderer to live in the palace by haunting it, he was obliged to build a new palace where he was then living; and that in virtue of their having listened to the story of Rāma, they were cleansed of their sins and were departing to the heaven of *Śatānīka*.

King Virūpākṣa, who heard a report of the manner in which the palace was freed from the ghosts, summoned the Eṭṭūr brothers to his court and made enquiries about them. On hearing the whole story, a change came over his mind; he became a devotee of Rāma and felt great reverence for the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He accepted Nṛsiṁhācārya as his spiritual preceptor, and, abandoning the Vīra Śaiva faith of which he was a follower, embraced Śrīvaiṣṇavism. He also gave up the old royal seal with the sign manual *Virūpākṣa* and adopted a new one with the name of *Śrī Rāma* inscribed thereon.[6-a]

The *Prapannāmṛtam* thus refers to a king Virūpākṣa of Vijayanagara, who gave up his original Vīra Śaiva faith and embraced Śrīvaiṣṇavism. He was specially devoted to the worship of Rāma, and adopted as a symbol of his new faith the name of Śrī Rāma as his sign manual, abandoning the

6-a. *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, No. 27, pp. 71-79.

earlier '*Śrī Virūpākṣa*', which was in use before his conversion. Now, there were two kings of the name of Virūpākṣa who ascended the Diamond Throne : (1) Virūpākṣa I, son of Harihara II, ruled for a few months after the death of his father in A.D. 1404; but as he was succeeded by his brothers, Bukka II and Dēvarāya I, it is not likely that he was the king Virūpākṣa mentioned in the *Prapannāmṛtam.* (2) Virūpākṣa II was the son of Pratāpa Dēvarāya, an younger brother of Dēvarāya II, who obtained from his elder brother, the government of Penugoṇḍa. Virūpākṣa II had no claims to the throne; but being a prince of ambitious character he took forcible possession of the kingdom. According to the Śrīśailam plates of Virūpākṣa II, issued on the occasion of his coronation on 8th Oct. A.D. 1465, he vanquished by means of his sword all his enemies on the battle-field, and obtained the kingdom by his prowess.[1] Mallikārjuna, son of Dēvarāya II, ruled at least until July A.D. 1465;[2] and he was succeeded, according to the *Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna,* by Rā II *i.e.* Rājaśekhara. This is supported by the evidence of two epigraphs dated A.D. 1468 and 1471 respectively,[3] which refer to him as the ruling sovereign at that time; but as Virūpākṣa was crowned, as stated already, in October A.D. 1465 at Vijayanagara, both of them could not have been ruling from the capital at the same time. It is interesting to note that the records of Rājaśēkhara cited above come from the North Arcot district and that in both of them Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, an enemy of Virūpākṣa II, figures as his subordinate. Taking into consideration all these facts, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the enemy whom Virūpākṣa vanquished in battle was Mallikārjuna himself. Probably the latter was put to death after his defeat; and his son Rājaśēkhara fled to Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, who espoused his cause and proclaimed him king. As the history of Virūpākṣa II bears a close resemblance to that of king Virūpākṣa described in the *Prapannāmṛtam,* it is not improbable that they are identical.

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1. *Sources of Vijayanagara History,* No. 26.
   "*Nija-pratāpād=adhigatya rājyam*
   samasta-bhāgyaiḥ parisēvyamānaḥ
   Khaḍg=āgratas=sarva-ripūn vijitya
   sammōdate vīra - vilāsa - bhūmiḥ."
2. EC. III. ML. 64.
3. 4 of 1896, 121 of 1921.

The Hazāra-Rāmasvāmi temple stood, as indicated by the term *Hazāra*, near the hall of entrance of the royal palace. Probably it is identical with the pagoda inside the palace mentioned by Paes, where Kṛṣṇadēvarāya used daily to 'make his orisons and ceremonies, according to custom.'[1] The Hazāra-Rāmasvāmi temple, therefore, appears to have been a shrine within the precincts of the palace built specially for the use of the king and the members of the royal family. Though tolerant in dealing with the various religious sects of the kingdom, none of the kings of the first dynasty was a follower of Vaiṣṇavism or devoted to the worship of Rāma. If the story of the *Prapannāmṛtam* can be depended upon, Virūpākṣa was the first king to accept Vaiṣṇavism and adopt Rāma as his favourite deity. As a shrine of Pampā stood on the site of Hazāra-Rāmasvāmi temple in the time of Dēvarāya, and as the latter was already in existence in the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, it was probably built by Virūpākṣa II who, according to the *Prapannāmṛtam*, was specially devoted to the worship of Rāma.

II

In the temple of Viṭṭhalasvāmi there are nine inscriptions. Of these, three, all dated Ś. 1435, Śrīmukha, Caitra, Śu. 5, belong to the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. One of them[2] "registers a gift of land by the king himself, made on the occasion of a solar eclipse for the merit of his parents Narasaṇṇāyaka and Nāgājamma. The other two[3] register gifts of land by the king and his chief queens, Cinnādēvī and Tirumaladēvī, and mention incidentally that each of the queens built a *gōpura* to the temple of Viṭṭhalasvāmin. From these it is evident that the temple was already in existence at the beginning of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's reign and that only two *gōpuras* were added during the period of his rule. Of the remaining six records, one belongs to the reign of Acyutadēvarāya[4] and the rest to that of his nephew Sadāśiva.[5] None of these, however, refers to any addition to the temple. Literary

1. *Forgotten Empire*, p. 250.
2. SII. IV. 277.
3. *Ibid.*, 273, 278.
4. *Ibid*, 274.
5. *Ibid.*, 272, 275, 276, 279.

evidence, on the other hand, clearly indicates that Viṭṭhala temple is an earlier foundation, dating back at least to the time of Dēvarāya II. In the introduction to his *Uttara-Nārasiṁhapurāṇam*, Haribhaṭṭa, an elder contemporary of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, states that Prōluganṭi Tippa, one of the generals of Dēvarāya II, built a *gōpura* to the temple of god Virūpākṣa, and a *bhoga-maṇṭapa* to the god Viṭṭhalapati; and presented a valuable crown to the god Raghunātha of the Mālyavanta, and a pearl necklace to the god Vīrabhadra of the Matanga hill.[1] This is corroborated by the evidence of Tāḷḷapākam Annamācārya (A.D. 1408-1503), who composed a *saṁkīrtana* in praise of the god Viṭṭhala of Vijayanagara and his spouse Rukmiṇi.[2] The *saṁkīrtana* in question may be paraphrased into English thus,—

TUNE—*Lalita.*

Pallavi. To be sure, Viṭṭhala is a gallant. There! he has returned from his (amorous) visits to sundry places.

Caraṇas. 1. In the waters of the Tuṅgabhadrā, Viṭṭhala swims with women, diverting himself with the mad sports of love. Under the shade of the lofty trees of the pleasure gardens, Viṭṭhala amuses himself laughing in the company of women.

2. Excited by love, Viṭṭhala wanders throughout the whole length of the car street, inviting women to come into his dark chamber. Unable to carry on the amour, behold! Viṭṭhala partakes in a hundred feasts in the mountain valleys.

3. Behold! Viṭṭhala scatters his boons in every quarter of the city of Vijayanagara. Having come from the holy Venkaṭa hill, Viṭṭhala and Rukmiṇi reside in their temple.

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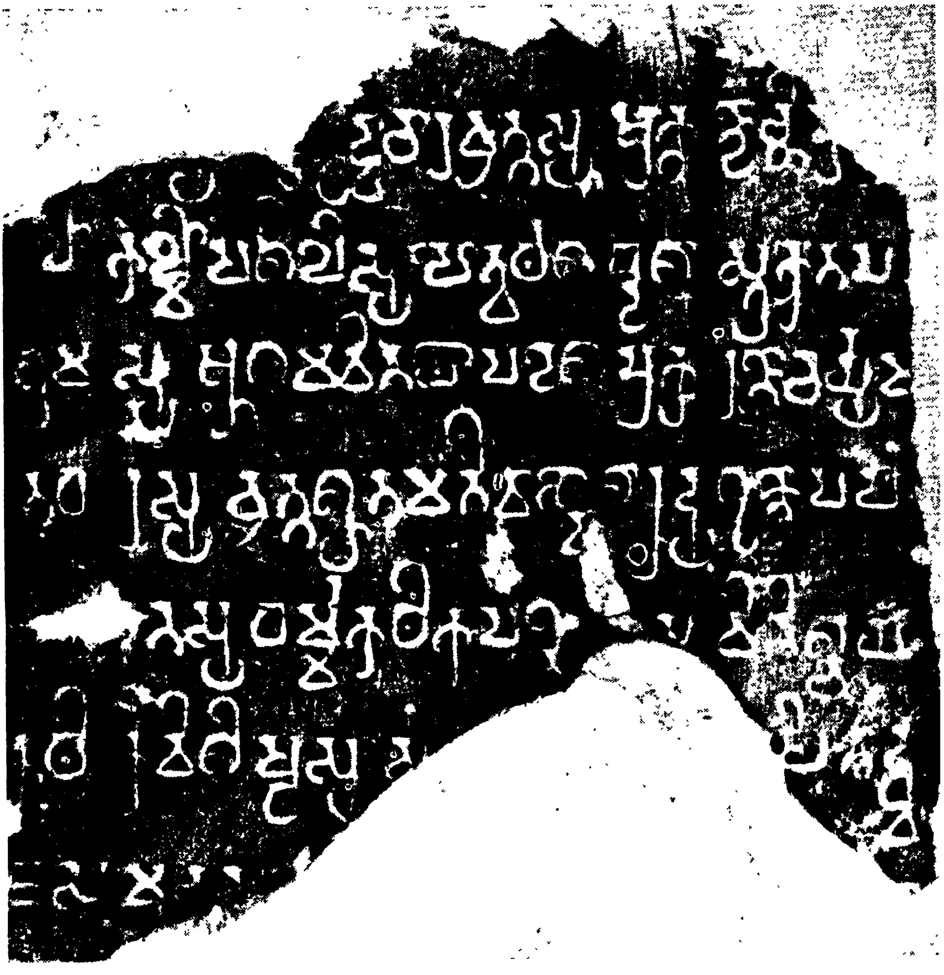
1. *Further Sources of the Vijayanagara History* I, No. 48.
2. *Tirupati Dēvasthānam Tāḷḷapākam Telugu Works Śṛṅgāra - Saṁkīrtanalu*, No. 229.

This *samkīrtana*, composed probably about the middle of the 15th century A.D., not only alludes to the temple of Viṭṭhala at Vijayanagara but also to several festivals such as the bathing festival, *rathōtsava*, *pāruvēṭa*, etc. As the author of the *samkīrtana* died six years before the accession of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, it disposes once for all of the theory that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya built Viṭṭhala's temple. It also sets at rest the belief that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, during one of his northern campaigns, brought the image of Viṭṭhala from Pandharpūr and installed it in his capital; for the last *caraṇa* of the *samkīrtana* explicitly states that Viṭṭhala and his spouse Rukmiṇi came to Vijayanagara not from Pandharpūr but the holy hill of Veṅkaṭa in the Chittoor district.



Sanskrit Inscription at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa

Sanskrit Inscription below the feet of the standing Buddha at Jaggayapeta

INSCRIPTIONS IN SAMSKRIT FOUND AT NĀGĀRJUNAKOṆḌA.

BY

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN

Inscriptions so far discovered in the Buddhist sites at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Palnad taluk, Guntur district, are in Prakrit and of the Ikshvaku dynasty of kings belonging to the period 200-260 A.D. It is therefore interesting that recently two inscriptions in Saṁskrit, incised on blue lime-stone, were found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Both are broken and in pieces. One (12″ x 6″) bearing Register No. 399/28 has an inscription in nine lines, the extant portion of which speaks of a *Dharmakathika* whose name is lost but is described *inter alia* as *Śuddh-ācāra-vṛtta*, etc. The script is Brāhmī of about 450-500 A.D. The palaeographical features of the inscription compare very well with those of the Saṁskrit inscription occurring in Jaggayyapeta and Gummididurru *stūpas*, Kistna district. As these inscriptions are not readily available to scholars, I give my readings of them below, by the side of the Saṁskrit inscription from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa under consideration:—

I

Nāgārjunakoṇḍa

Inscription on a fragmentary blue lime-stone slab (12″ x 6″), in Brāhmī script of about 450-500 A.D., and language Saṁskrit,

Line 1. ....la

2. .. gasya Śuddhācāra vṛttasya a ....
3. lākalmāṣa śīlasya hetvarthaśabda śāstra kṛtapa (ri)
4. śramasya āgamavinayopadeśa prakaraṇācāryyama-
5. tadharasya vṛitta śruta mati vāg vaiśāradyagunopapam-
6. nasya dharmmakathika p(r)avī (ṇa)sya viniścaya
7. kathikaviśiṣṭasya maṁ (tra).....pītaddhva-
8. jasamṛddha sa.........
9. ·ya..................

II

Jaggayyapeta Stūpa, Nandigama Taluk, Kistna District. Inscription in Saṁskrit language below the feet of the standing

figure of Buddha in high relief (see Burgess, *Amarāvatī and Jaggayyapeta*, Plate LV. Fig. 5 and LXIII. Fig. 4) reading as

Line 1. Svasti bhadanta Nāgārjunācāryyasya
2. Śiṣya(ḥ) Jayaprabhācāryya(ḥ) tac-chiṣyeṇa Ca(ndra)
3. prabheṇa kārāpitāṁ satya-sugata-gata-prasāda-viśeṣa-viśiṣṭa-saṁsāre devamanu(ja)
4. vibhūtipūrvvakaṁ Buddhattva-prāpti-nimittaṁ Buddhapratimāṁ pratiṣṭhā (ṣṭhā)pitāṃ anumodanā(ṁ)

Line 5. kurvvantu sarvve Saugaty-āgraya (?)nyo pi

Nāgārjuna referred to in this inscription is probably the later Tantric Guru, Siddha Nāgārjuna, who was one of the 84 Siddhas, and has therefore to be distinguished from the earlier Ācārya Nāgārjuna, the preacher of the Mādhyamika school of Buddhist philosophy, who flourished in the second century A.D. The "Bhadanta Nāgārjuna" referred to here would appear to be the disciple of Saraha and who became famous for his mastery of Māyūrīvidyā. His period was probably the fifth century A.D.

III

Gummididurru Stūpa, Nandigama Taluk, Kistna District. Below the standing figure of Buddha in high relief (B. 238), discovered on the outer facing of the drum of a Buddhist stūpa at Gummididurru, runs in 4 lines the following inscription in Saṁskrit language and in Brāhmī script of the 5th century A.D. as in the other two cases described above:—

Line 1. Ācāryya Maugalyāyaṇasya priyaśiṣyasyācāryya

Line 2. (Dha)rmmadevasya śiṣyeṇa śrāmaṇaka Rāhulena Bhagavato

Line 3. pratimā pratiṣṭhāpitā sarvvasatvānām anuttarajñā-

Line 4. nāvāptayē yadatra puṇyam tad-bhavatu satvānāṁ-

AN EXHIBITION OF THE ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF INDO-CHINA

To kindle greater public interest in the cultural contacts of ancient India and Cambodia, and to re-establish the contacts between Indian and French Indologists which had been interrupted by World War II, Mlle. S. Karpeles of the Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient, Hanoi, conducted an exhibition of the art and archælogy of Indo-China at Pondicherry on the 25th January 1948.

The exhibition was declared open by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Professor of Indian History and Archæology, University of Madras (Retd.). H.E. M. Baron, Governor of French India, presided on the occasion. After Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's opening address, Mlle. S. Karpeles introduced the exhibition. The addresses by Prof. Sastri and Mlle. Karpeles are reproduced here.

PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

YOUR EXCELLENCY, MLLE. KARPELES, FRIENDS,

I am grateful for the high honour you have conferred on me by asking me to come over here to-day to open this interesting exhibition organized by the "Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient." May I add how much I appreciate the warm personal interest taken by H. E. the Governor in its success and the very lavish arrangements he has caused to be made for the comfort of such of us as had to make a journey from Madras to be present here at this pleasant function.

Since I accepted your kind invitation I had occasion to go to Delhi on public business and I am glad to be able to report to you that I met several friends there who have vivid and pleasant recollections of this exhibition which they saw at the Asian Relations Conference at the beginning of last year; and I understand that now more exhibits have come in which were not on show at Delhi.

All the countries of the world, France, India and Indo-China not excepted, are facing crucial problems, economic, political and cultural, that have arisen clamantly from the different theatres of war; let us hope that there will soon be an end to grab, exploitation and strife and that sanity and the

habits of mutual good-will and peace will return to the world under the ægis of the U. N. O. Meanwhile it is pleasant and instructive to contemplate at least for a moment the aspects of human life and history that the present exhibition represents.

For it represents the happy results of a friendly interest taken in the past by a more advanced people in the destinies of their less gifted but quite receptive neighbours. Indian civilization was itself a blend of the most diverse elements drawn from cultures that had had a fairly long history before they met and mingled in pre-historic times. This civilization which is best described as Indo-Aryan arose from a complex process which we may compendiously call the Indianisation of the Aryan under the leadership of great seers and humanists, the vedic rishis, among whom Agastya is justly celebrated as the greatest expander of the sphere of Aryan culture. It was a work of sympathy, understanding and accommodation, and it was work that appears to have been carried out on the whole in a spirit of peace, in spite of the occasional and inevitable shocks and conflicts. This civilization when it reached its maturity, overflowed the bounds of India and crossed the seas to continue the good work of elevating and humanizing life in fresh lands, and the prevalence of the cult of Agastya in Indonesia and Indo-China is one of the surest signs of the continuity of this grand process in human history. At the beginning of the Christian era, when the Indonesian and Indo-Chinese peoples were still in the late neo-lithic stage of culture, began the expansion of Indo-Aryan culture into these lands, and among the earliest vestiges of this expansion are a number of Buddha statues in stone and metal in the unmistakable early Amarāvati style and a good number of Sanskrit inscriptions in a South Indian script composed in well turned verses and recording the conquests of kings, the performance of Vedic sacrifices by them and the construction of temples, irrigation works and so on. It was the transplantation of the whole apparatus of culture from India, its language, its religious and its social institutions, and its acceptance by the indigenous peoples who were first doubtless astonished by the new comers and their ways, but were quick to realize their friendly intentions and the great benefits of consorting with them and adopting their ways of life, thought and action. Many new kingdoms grew side by side of one another, flourished for generations, and even in the midst of the clashes caused by

their rival ambitions, they did much to foster industry, trade and the arts. Fu-Nan and its successor Kambuja, Campā and Śrī-Vijaya stand out prominent among them and their history fills the annals of centuries. The last mentionned state was a maritime empire with its headquarters in Śrī-Vijaya, modern Palembang in Sumatra. It was a centre of Sanskrit and Buddhist studies which long maintained friendly contacts with the Pāla empire of Bengal and the Cholas in the South, and with great Indian centres of learning and worship like Nālandā, Kanchipuram and Negapatam. The relations between Śrī-Vijaya and the Chola empire in its heyday in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were particularly close though not always friendly.

Of the beginnings and progress of this vast movement of Hindu colonization in the East we knew very little till the beginning of the present century. Two generations of French and Dutch archæologists, philologists and historians have laboured with zeal at the recovery of this forgotten chapter of India's history, of which the outlines stand out fairly clear now, but the details still remain to be filled in by the further progress of studies so happily and well begun. In fact the recovery of the ancient history of India and her colonies by scientific methods is one of the happiest results of the sway, open to much criticism along other lines, which the European nations established and exercised over these lands in the nineteenth century. And that history is full of instruction to those nations themselves which are being forced by the stress of war and revolt to find a fresh basis for the regulation of their relations with the peoples of Asia. It shows that without political power, without economic exploitation, India found it possible in the past to establish a lasting empire over the hearts of diverse peoples by promoting cultural harmony among them on the foundation of a wise understanding and accommodation of differences among them. In the recapture and practice of this spirit in the near future by the nations of the world lies its only way of escape from the perils that now threaten to engulf it.

The foundation of E.F.E.O., represented here by Mlle. Karpeles and this exhibition, marks an epoch in the organisation and furtherance of the studies which are revealing to us so many wonders and achievements of our race in the past. Mlle. Karpeles will soon give you an account of the Ecole

and its work and I am sure that will be of very great interest to you. But I will say this. Anyone who glances even superficially through the forty odd volumes of the Bulletin of the Ecole will see readily what a large place it takes in the study and interpretation of Asian cultures, what a wide range of subjects in linguistics, ethnography, pre-historic and historic archæology it covers, and what a mass of literature, inscriptions and artifacts it has discovered, scanned, illustrated and interpreted. The ethnographic part of the work is of particular interest to us, as the study of Indian ethnography has much leeway to make up. Even in archæology, though at the beginning of the century the Indian archæological survey just then reorganized under Sir John Marshall was the envy of scholars working in Indonesia and Indo-China, the position is no longer the same and Indian archæologists will find that they have much to learn from the methods and practices followed in the Ecole and the museums under its control.

Indo-China, as its very name implies, was subject to cultural influences from India as well as China, though the former were the more dominant ones; for China, though nearer, or possibly because it was nearer, aimed at dominion—always a source of irritation to the dominated, and thus, unlike India, forfeited the chance of a friendly and willing reception from the peoples of Indo-China. But the Ecole has by no means neglected the Chinese side of the story which is often interwoven with the Indian side, and that institution would be capable, if called upon, to organize an exhibition, similar to this, which would greatly interest the scholars and people of China.

Speaking of archæology in Pondicherry, I cannot omit to mention the name that will ever be associated with this fine city—I mean my late lamented friend Professor G. Jouveau Dubreuil. I enjoyed the privilege of his friendship for some years and had many occasions of noticing how closely he collaborated with the Ecole in his striking work in this city, and how some of his most brilliant results were confirmed by discoveries made by the scholars of the Ecole! How I wish he were here in person to-day! He discovered Arikamedu, and all that has since been done there is a commentary, a necessary and instructive commentary, on conclusions he reached by his intuition guided by surface finds.

I have much pleasure in declaring the exhibition open and in requesting Mlle. Karpeles to introduce you to it.

MLLE. S. KARPELES.

A rough sketch of Indo-China and its different civilisations will help to realise the large field of researches the peninsula offers to the E. F. E. O.'s scholars and the amount of work they have achieved not only for a better knowledge about Indo-China's cultures but also for the benefit of Further India's studies.

The physical aspect of the country is charactérised by the mountainous chain dividing the peninsula into two distinct portions from N.W. to S. E. On the N.E. lies China, on the W. Burma and Siam, the Mekong River being the natural boundary between Siam and Laos.

The Annamites, who are to be found in Tonkin, Annam and Cochinchina, represent 72 per cent. of the population and owe their culture to China. The Cambodians, only 12 per cent. of the population, owe their culture to India, and the Laotians, who represent 6 per cent. of the peninsula's population, are settled on the western slopes of the mountainous chain and received also their culture from India. Besides different ethnical groups, Indonesian elements which show a close anthropological link between Indo-China and India, are to be found scattered here and there. From pre-historical remains, one may infer that intercourse existed between the Indo-Chinese peninsula and India, and that amongst its population different elements were to be found.

In the beginning of the Christian era both civilisations, China's on the east and India's on the west, impressed the people who were still making common use of the polished stone. On the other hand, the facts recorded in the Chinese Annals about early Annamite history corroborate fully the remains brought to light by the E. F. E. O's archæological survey. After the 10th century, when the Annamites obtained their freedom from the Chinese political hold, they expanded southward and entirely absorbed the Hinduised kingdom of Champa, and later on part of the big Khmer Empire in Cochinchina.

The oldest informations about Cham or Champa Kingdom may be traced back to the 2nd century A.D. It owed its splendour to Indian pacific cultural invasion by means of Hindu and Buddhist religions which implied Sanskrit culture

and Indian art canon. Now-a-days ruins are the only concrete witnesses of Cham civilisation, and the few ethnical groups which have survived the Annamite absorption, profess the Mohammedan faith.

Recent archæological discoveries have enabled us to locate on the map sites of the Fu-Nan Empire, known to the Chinese historians, which included the Khmer Kingdom. Those discoveries revealed also the close trade connection existing, at the time, between the Fu-Nan Empire and India, that is to say, as early as the 2nd century A.D. In the middle of the 6th century A.D. the Khmer Kingdom established its paramount sovereignty and up to the 13th century A.D. knew an ever ascending growth of splendour which gave birth to Khmer Art, now-a-days universally acknowledged as one of the finest expressions of Eastern Art, which attained its climax while the Kingdom's capital was Angkor. After the 13th century A.D. this art's florescence came to a standstill with the kingdom's decline and Hinayanist Buddhism took the place of Hinduism and Mahanyanist Buddhism, and this resulted in the gradual decay of Sanskrit culture. But the precious cultural gift India had brought to the western people of the peninsula was not lost, when in the middle of the 14th century A.D. emerged, from the Mekong Valley, the first independent Laotian kingdom of Luang Prabang, thus reviving once more Indian culture.

With this rapid sketch as background, we will now present the different activities of the Institute; but one must bear in mind that we will only mention those pertaining to Indology in particular and the other activities dealing specially with Sinology shall be purposely omitted.

The E.F.E.O. or French Research Institute for the Far East, was founded in 1898 and is under the scientific control of the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, part of the well-known Institut de France in Paris. The main object of this F.R.I. is, as its name implies, to carry out historical, archæological and linguistic researches not only in Indo-China but also in Eastern Asia, involving besides researches in ethnological, pre-historical, physical and human geographical fields. The library which is housed in a three-storied building at Hanoi, Tonkin, contains about 40,000 volumes on oriental subjects written in different European languages; 27,000

Chinese volumes, a detailed catalogue of them being in progress; 6,000 Annamese works being mainly copies of originals from Hue's Imperial library and of the Annamite historical record office; 11,000 Japanese books; 2,000 Cambodian and Laotian manuscripts; and 25,000 rubbings of ancient inscriptions. The photographic department, with an up-to-date equipment, possesses 25,000 negatives and 3,000 lantern slides.

Two important archaeological museums are under the direct supervision of the R. I.—the Hanoi one contains also masterpieces from India up to Japan, the Indo-Chinese section being naturally the most important one; the other Museum of Turan in Annam, is entirely devoted to Cham archaeology. Besides, the rich pre-historical collection is housed in the Hanoi museum and an ethnographical museum has been also opened in Hanoi. Other museums are under the scientific control of the E. F. E. O. In Saigon, capital of Cochinchina in the Southern part of the Peninsula, the museum contains specimens of far eastern Art and an interesting collection of Khmer pieces found in Cochinchina, formerly part of ancient Khmer empire. In Cambodia, the Phnom Penh museum is entirely devoted to Khmer Art from the earliest to the latest periods; in Annam, the Hue museum offers a fine display of Annamite art, and the Tanh Hoa one, northern Annam-Southern Tonkin, contains a rich collection of remains of the first centuries of the Christian era during the Chinese occupation. The Angkor group of Khmer monuments, and the Mison group, of Cham ruins, have a special status and have been converted into "Parks". Scientific restoration, known as "anastylosis", has been carried out most successfully ever since 1931. The archaeological survey of the R. I. is entrusted with the care of some 1,200 monuments scattered throughout the peninsula.

As for the studies written during the last 43 years by the members of this F.R.I. and some foreign scholars, such as Prof. Nilakanta Shastri, the great Indian scholar, dealing with archaeology, philology, linguistic history and ethnology, they are to be found in the 43 important volumes of its annual Bulletin and in 35 volumes of special "Publications" and in 8 "Archaeological memoirs", besides 5 volumes of "Texts and Documents" and an important "Bibliographical Dictionary" dealing with all the works published on Indo-China, without omitting the different museums catalogues. Thanks to the

exchange of publications, the E. F. E. O. is in touch with the universities and "Societies Savantes" all over the globe.

The newly appointed director, Mr. Paul Levy who came to Delhi for the opening of the Indo-Chinese display at the archaeological exhibition during the Inter-Asian conference last April, is a graduate of the French Institute of Indian Civilisation of Paris University, in Sanskrit and Indian archaeology and of the Ethnological Institute of Paris University. He was the pupil of Alfred Foucher, Sylvain Levi, Louis Renou, Jules Bloch, Przyluski, Paul Mus, all leading scholars of French Indology. Previously he occupied the post of chief at the ethnological Dpt. of the E. F. E. O.; later on he was nominated Curator of the Hanoi museum and finally general Secretary of the institute. He is the founder of the Indo-Chinese institute for the study of man, in Hanoi, and brought out a magnificent Bulletin which will be another scientific link between Indian savants and the two Indo-Chinese institutes.

The present archaeological and ethnographical exhibition, though a modest one, will give a better idea of the work carried out than the above dry statement. We hope that, besides, it will, after all those years of silence, help to revive the interest that the Indian elite had for Indochinese studies and will even induce them to come over and admire on the spot the great monuments of Indian cultural colonisation.

THE ORIENTALIST ACTIVITY OF THE FRENCH NATIONAL NUMISMATICS DEPARTMENT

BY

ANDRE GUILLOU, PARIS.

The Departments of Coins and Medals of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris "Le Cabinet des Mèdailles" and its collections, are well known the world over. Work in the Greek, Roman, French and other sections has progressed satisfactorily but there is a branch of numismatics which has been comparatively neglected; that is the oriental collections of the Department of coins and medals, with the exception of the Arabic section in which much work has been done by H. Lavoix with his catalogues of "Muslim coins", Paris 1887-1891. However, so many acquisitions have been made since then that a revision of the catalogue is long overdue. That is all the intellectual world knows of the oriental coin collections of France. One of the reasons for this is that there are so few French orientalists interested in numismatics. Since Lavoix there has only been one outstanding expert in that line: Cottevielle-Giraudet, who died during the 1st war. Unfortunately he had time only to do some good ground work and to publish a few essays on some particular subjects.

Everything therefore remains to be done in the field of oriental coins, medals and intaglios and there is much to do. If various catalogues and essays were to be published on this subject they would be useful contributions to science.

As a matter of fact the work has already begun. It is planned to organize in Paris a centre of numismatic documentation from different countries, both ancient and modern, of Central and Western Asia.

It is proposed to divide this work into three groups; the purely Iranian section, the Indian section and the section of Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian, Kuṣān and other coins.

The first group will include Iran itself at different periods; Achaemenid, Arsacid, Sassanid, Muslim. Each of these divisions covers the vaious branches of numismatics and sigillography (coins, medals, intaglios).

At the same time the question of coins from Bactria, Sogdiana and adjoining places will be taken up. There is a beautiful collection of Sogdianian coins at the Bibliotheque Nationale.

Next will come India. This work is more important still. The collections will have to be adapted and completed and the characteristics of the Indian coins will have to be described and given their special significance.

With this research as a starting point and making use of *the other influences such as those of China*, a field as yet little known will then be approached: that of Indo-Parthian, Indo-Scythian and Kuṣān coins. Such are the oulines of the plan. What has already been done? So far most of the work carried out has dealt with the Iranian group. The Department of Coins and Medals having luckily acquired the Parthian and Sassanid coins from the J. de Morgan collection, these had to be classified as well as an important lot of coins which came from the Suza excavations. These are two of the factors which made the work begin with Iran. Another factor is the collaboration of a specialist of modern Persia, M. Rabino di Borgomal with the result that the catalogue of the coins of the Shahs of Persia is almost ready. M. Rabino di Borgomal's last work published in 1945 under the title of Coins, Medals, and Seals of the Shahs of Iran (1500-1941), helped us to prepare our catalogue. The classification of our Persian coins will however bring out certain new and useful elements when the catalogue does come out.

Another thing occurred to make us take a special interest in the Iranian section. When our collections came back after the war we had to take care of the oriental intaglios which were to be put back in their places. Among them there is a considerable number of Persian, Achaemenidian and Sassanian intaglios. These last lot numbered about 300, of which 160 carried inscriptions.

It was obvious from the start that the publication of this treasure in the form of a catalogue or essay would be a most useful thing. In fact an article on a unique and hitherto unpublished Manichean intaglio will appear very shortly in the Revue d'Histoire des Religions. Others will follow since the deciphering of inscriptions has shown that they include a number of as yet unpublished texts.

Something must be said of the methods followed in establishing the centre of documentation for oriental numismatics.

However important they may be, our collections are not complete and many of the series have gaps to be filled. This is not always easy in these difficult days. Besides, it happens very often that specialists ask us some information on some given point or coin. If all museums published the lists of their acquisitions it would not be difficult to reply to enquiries. But this is almost impossible. There is also another factor to take into consideration, that is private collections. They are often not available to orientalists either because they are not known or because they are too far away from the specialists. In order to facilitate the work of French research workers and of foreigners passing through France, it has been decided to approach the various museums and private collectors and ask them to send to us either impressions or photographs of the coins they have which might be of interest to the various sections mentioned above.

So far the response has been very good. Beautiful collections of impressions of Iranian coins from various periods have been received. These are photographed and each reproduction placed on an index card with a full description and the name of the museum or collection from where it comes. This provides a compact and easily accessible documentation. Any specialist coming to France will thus be able to obtain on the spot all the information he requires on any given coin, medal or intaglio.

This documentation is all the more important, specially for the East, since the history of many civilizations can only be traced through numismatic and sigillographic documents. Nothing should be left to chance in these domains. I therefore appeal to all official departments of coins and medals and private collectors with coins, medals or intaglios of the Middle East and Central Asia as far as and including India, to send impressions or photographs to the Cabinet des Mèdailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale. This will contribute towards a better knowledge of oriental civilizations. I have already received some interesting information from Brussels, The Hague, New York and from a few private French and British collectors and I hope to have a great deal more from

other sources specially from India. I sincercly and warmly thank in advance all those who will help us to make of the French Department of Coins and Medals a useful instrument of scientific research in eastern numismatics.

ANDRE GUILLOU

du Cabinet des Medailles Bibliotheque Nationale de Paris,

Rue de Richelieu, Paris 1 er

Correspondence

A QUOTATION IN THE LOCANA

Regarding my note in the last issue of this Journal (Vol. XV, Part I, pp. 32-33) identifying the source of the quotation in Abhinavagupta's Dhvanyālokalocana, 'गामश्वं पुरुषं पशुम्'—

Mm. P. V. Kane writes: "I read.... your brief but interesting note on 'गामश्वं पुरुषं पशुम्'.... which you rightly trace to the Mahābhāṣya. May I draw your attention to the same arrangement (but in the nominative case) in such an old work as the Atharva Veda VIII. 2·25 where we read

सर्वो वै तत्र जीवति गौरश्वः पुरुषः पशुः ।
यत्रेदं ब्रह्म क्रियते परिधिर्जीवनाय कम् ॥

I hope this will interest you."

As indicated in the Index compiled by me for the K.S.R.I. edn. of the Dhvanyāloka, Uddyota One, and as mentioned by me in the note in the last issue of this Journal, 'गामश्वं पुरुषं पशुम्' in the same form as quoted by Abhinavagupta, occurs in the Atharva Veda VIII. 7. 11. But, as Mm. Kane has stated, the quotation made by Abhinavagupta, is, as has been done by me, to be traced to a citation in the Mahābhāṣya.

Sri S. Ramaswami Sastri, a Life Member of the K.S.R.I., writes with reference to the same note of mine in the last issue, that the verse cited by Patañjali, with some differences, occurs in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, Prapāṭhaka VI. Anuvāka 5.

अहरहर्नयमानो गामश्वं पुरुषं जगत् ।
वैवस्वतो न तृप्यति पञ्चभिर्मानवैर्यमः ॥

The Anuvāka deals with Yamayajña and this verse is the fourth of a set of seven verses on Yama in the latter part of the Anuvāka.

V. Raghavan

BOOK REVIEWS

RELIGION AND SOCIETY BY S. RADHAKRISHNAN. GEORGE ALLEN AND UNWIN LTD. LONDON. 1947. PRICE 10. 6.

Based on the Kamala lectures delivered in the Universities of Calcutta and Benares in the winter of 1942, this book faithfully reflects the reactions of a modern *śiṣṭa* to the world situation as it was in that fateful year. Its appeal to the reader is not the less to-day when it is becoming increasingly evident that the rulers of the world have set their course for another war more deadly than the last. With the wealth of learning and charm of eloquence characteristic of him, Radhakrishnan pursues in these lectures the double purpose of probing the causes of the deep malaise in the world situation and of suggesting the only adequate remedy for it. His main thesis is that man has deserted God for Mammon, and that nothing but disaster awaits him unless he retraces his steps while it is yet possible and restores his allegiance where it is due. Throughout he illustrates his points and drives them home by a reference to the religion, philosophy and sociology and to the lives and ideals of the rulers, saints and seers of India like Buddha, Asoka and Gandhi to mention only the leading names.

The book is arranged in five chapters headed: The Need for Religion, The Inspiration of Religion and the New World Order, Hindu Dharma, Women in Hindu Society, and War and Non-Violence. It is useless to attempt to summarize this reasoned plea for the restoration of spiritual values to their proper place in civilized life. The topical nature of the theme and the acknowledged eminence of the author must ensure for it a very wide circulation in all the countries of the world.

K. A. N.

INDIA ANTIQUA, KERN INSTITUTE, LEYDEN.

India Antiqua, a volume of Oriental Studies, was presented to the distinguished Orientalist, Jean Philippe Vogel, C. I. E., by his friends and pupils, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his graduation as Doctor in Philology at the University of Amsterdam. Prof. Vogel's services to Indian archæology are very valuable and varied. He is held

in high esteem and admiration by seasoned archæologists like Sir John Marshall who says, "There is no one living to whom I would so gladly pay my tribute of admiration as Professor Vogel, who colloborated with me for so many years in India, and for whose achievements in the field of Indian archæology I entertain highest possible esteem."

The volume under notice is a monumental testimony to the admiration which Prof. Vogel has earned, not only from his collaborators like Sir John Marshall and pupils, but from all those working in the field of oriental research, by the life-long and inestimable services he has rendered to the cause of Indology in its various branches. Many well known European and Indian Orientalists, like Bachhofer, L., Konow, S., Coedes, G., Thomas, F.W., Bernet Kempers, A. J., Galestin, Th. P., Coomaraswamy, A. K., Bhattacharyya, B., Law, B. C., Nilakanta Sastri, K. A., Chhabra, B.Ch.,—to mention only a few—have enriched the volume under notice by their very valuable contributions, and paid their respects to Prof. Vogel.

The volume contains articles on diverse subjects relating to Iconography, Philology, Epigraphy, Chronology, History, Religion, Literature and Arts like painting and sculpture. The migration of the magical symbol Oṃ by Boeles, J.J., Illustrations from the Pauṣya parvan on a Balinese Painting by Galestin, Th. P., The Bhīmastava by Bosch, F.D.K., Plural forms in Buddhist Iconography by Pott, P. H., the Śailendra Interregnum by Naerssen, F. H. Van, and Mṛcchakaṭikā and King Lear by Faddegon, B., are some of the articles of special interest to Indians. Note on the Eras in Indian Inscriptions by Konow, S., The Battle of Veṇbai by Nilakanta Sastri, K. A., Some remarkable Buddhist bronzes in Baroda by Bhaṭṭacharya, B., A new inscribed image of Yaksha by Bajpai, K.D., The subject of the Sīgiri Paintings by Paranavitana, S., 'Kaniṣka year 14' by Thomas, F. W., and Two notes on Mathurā Sculpture by Lohuizen-De Leeuw, J. E. Van, are some interesting articles relating to Indian history and archæology that require special mention. In addition to the articles mentioned above, there are many more that bear testimony to patient research and eminent scholarship of the contributors and throw light on many points of Oriental culture.

The fine get up and the neat printing of the volume claim our special admiration.

M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA

Bhagavad Gita and Modern Life by K. M. Munshi, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1947, pp. 224, Price Rs. 6-0-0.

This book consists of a series of lectures delivered in the Gita *Vidyalaya, Bharatiya Vidya* Bhavan, during the years 1944-45 and 1945-46. The author says in his Foreword:—

"I believe that unless the eternal truth underlying the Bhagavad Gita is utilised to shape life in all its modernity and richness, it would be impossible to bring the modern mind to appreciate the beauty aud grandeur of the absolute integration of human personality, for which the Gita provides the perfect guide."

"The absolute integration of human personality"—this is the most important point stressed by Mr. Munshi throughout these lectures. Yoga is for him "the one comprehensive process by which man ascends in the scale of life by performing acts which are the expression of a dynamic personality based on the complete co-ordination of all his powers." The advice of Krishna to Arjuna is not simply to fight but to be a yogi and fight. "To do" should be the flowering of "to be". The West has created a philosophy of life out of its own demoniac restlessness and called it a philosophy of action. Such a philosophy and the Karma-yoga of the Gita are poles asunder. To call the Western philosophy of action a Karma-yoga is a lie, according to Mr. Munshi. What the Gita envisages is action which is not only the result of the absolute integration of the personality of man, illumined by knowledge and inspired by devotion, but also which is in search of self-realisation. In fact, action uninstructed by knowledge and uninspired by devotion does not and cannot make for self-realisation. It is not yoga. Thus knowledge, action and devotion are not alternative pathways. All the three have to converge into one. It is only for the purposes of instruction that we speak separately of Karma-yoga, bhakti-yoga and jnana-yoga. In actuality they cannot be separated from one another, any more than the various functions of the mind can be separated from one another.

Another important point made by Mr. Munshi is that, in the religious discipline advocated by the Gita, man's own individual nature is taken as the starting point. He says:—

"The Gita starts with the fundamental position that *svabhava* or man's individual nature, *svakamra* or the task

appointed by his nature and *svadharma* or the law of his being or his own characteristic Truth of Duty, are inalienable and sacred for him. The individual nature of a man is therefore the basis of his personality—the only centre of dynamic power which he possesses. By this emphasis Sri Krishna places human personality on a firm foundation."

The Gita by thus linking *svadharma* with *svabhava* has also given a new content and a new meaning to the fourfold order of Hindu society. It has transferred the emphasis from birth to the individual nature of man. Individuals are divided into four classes, according to their nature, irrespective of the parentage from which they spring. Any social system which denies to an individual the right to develop his nature goes counter to the teachings of the Gita and is unnatural. It will destroy the individual and will in the end destroy itself. Sri Krishna's message, therefore, supplies the vitality which should re-integrate our fourfold order from generation to generation; for, according to Mr. Munshi, "classless society is as much a myth as the equality of men." Thus the path of Yoga taught in the Gita cuts across all natural and artificial barriers created by heredity, tradition and social environment. Everything depends on man's own nature, his aspiration and "his will to become."

The lectures are interspersed with a good deal of historical and autobiographical matter, which is sometimes very interesting, but which on the whole obscures the main drift. We wish that, when the book was prepared for the press, the spoken words were properly pruned and given a lasting shape and form. D.S.S.

SATAKATRAYA OF BHARTRHARI. Edited by D. D. KOSAMBI, BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN, BOMBAY. Rs. 5-8-0.

The bewildering Bhartṛhari material has found now in Sri D.D. Kosambi a scholar who has started a systematic study of both the author Bhartṛhari and the three hundred verses on Nītī, Śṛṅgāra and Vairāgya ascribed to him. He has now published a number of studies on both the author and text, and one of his papers on the former has appeared in the pages of this Journal (Vol. 15, pt. 2). No less than 150 Mss. of the Triśatī have been studied by him, and as a preliminary to his final edition, he has brought out editions of the

Northern and Southern archetypes of the text ; the former was edited in the Ānandāśrama series, and the volume under review represents the latter.

The present edition of the Southern archetype is based on 24 mss. and 4 commentaries, an edition of one of which is also added to the text by Sri Kosambi's collaborator, Pandit Krishnamoorti Sarma. The edition notes not only variant readings but gives necessary indications regarding doubtful and additional stanzas, and what is more important, references to the verses in the centuries which are quoted in anthologies, works of poetics, etc. All these, and the excellent typographical set-up and printing make the edition very useful and attractive.

A few corrections may be pointed out: P. 61, verse 1—Rasanaivaikā should be rasanā naiva. P. 92, verse 1—of Padminī and Madhupa both of which are in the nominative, one, preferably Madhupa, should be in accusative. Pp. 87, 90, 96, 97—Sub-headings Grīṣma, Prāvṛt, Śarat and Hemanta are to be inserted.

In the important work of giving references to citations of Bhartṛhari-verses, a few errors of commission and omission may be noted:

(*a*) All the works cited here are not listed among the abbreviations and explained. (*b*) Under 1·13, Adhigataparamārthān, the reference to Rudraṭa is not complete; the reference is to Rudraṭa's Kāvyālaṁkāra 1·7 where there is only an echo of the opening words of this verse. (*c*) Under II. 27, the poetess Śīlābhaṭṭārikā is twice mentioned in masculine. (*d*) Under II. 92, Uparighanam,—reference is given to Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, III. 87 (88); this is a mistake due to reliance on mere index, for the two verses are different, that cited by Bhoja being a well-known verse from the Mudrārākṣasa.

The following have been missed:

(*a*) I. i. Dikkālādi, as I have pointed out in my article on the date of the Yogavāsiṣṭha in this Journal (Vol. XIII. p. 116), is cited by Somānanda in his Śivadṛṣṭi.

(*b*) I. 57. Pradānam pracchannam—is cited in Municandra's gloss on the Dharmabindu prakaraṇa, Bib. Ind. edn. p. 29.

(*c*) II. 41 Kānteti—Kṛṣṇamiśra's Prabodhacandrodaya, IV. 8.

(*d*) III. 6—Kṣāntam na kṣamayā—cited by Namisādhu on Rudraṭa, XI. 36.

(*e*) III. 57—Vipulahṛdayaiḥ— Do. do. II. 8.

V. RAGHAVAN

A Hand-book of Classical Sanskrit Literature by Professor U. Venkatakrishna Rao, M. A., published by Vedam Venkataraya Sastri and Bros., No. 4, Mallikesvaran Koil South Lane, Linghi Chetti Street, George Town, Madras. Crown—Pages 1 to 180. Price Rs. 2.

In the field of History of Sanskrit Literature, Professor A. A. Macdonnel's book was occupying an important place especially among the student population. Professor A. B. Keith's Classical Sanskrit Literature deals with the Classical period alone and does not include the Epic, Itihāsa and Purāṇa Literature. A student of the B. A. Degree Course in the Madras University has to study the latter portion of the book of Professor A. A. Macdonnel and supplement the information given in it from the book of Professor A. B. Keith. Thus there has not been till now any one complete text book on the History of Sanskrit Literature for the students of the B. A. Degree Course. This long-felt necessity has now been fulfilled by Professor U. Venkatakrishna Rao by the publication of the book under review. But, as the author himself says, " it can also be of interest to the Samskritists in general and to students of Literature in particular."

The author has judiciously retained the same chapter headings as adopted by Professor A. B. Keith as they are not capable of any improvement. He has understood the real difficulty of the students appearing for examinations, and has prepared the book probably from the notes he might have dictated to his own students in the Madras Christian College, Madras. He has given some additional information regarding the Purāṇas which are not dwelt upon at length by Professor A. A. Macdonnel. The date of Kālidāsa has been discussed fully though in a brief manner ; the date assigned by A. B. Keith to Kālidāsa, *i.e.*, 4th A.D. is criticised very severely and the other theories are referred to in a clear and concise manner. He follows the Indian tradition in assigning Kālidāsa to 56 B.C. or 150 B.C.

Parallel ideas and descriptions in the works of Kālidāsa and the Rāmāyaṇa are also touched upon. The chapter dealing with the characteristics of the Samskrit Drama contains a volume of information in a nut shell besides a plan with measurements of an Indian Theatre. The book also contains a very useful literature symposium in tabular form giving the date in centuries and the names of works and authors according to classified subject-matter. A list of suggestive questions has been appended. The utility of the book would have been considerably increased if diacritical marks have been followed for Samskrit words and an index of authors and works added at the end. The book is extremely useful to all students of Sanskrit Literature, and especially to students studying for B.A. Degree Course in the various Universities of South India.

T. CHANDRASEKHARAN

OBITUARY NOTICES

Prof. A. B. Gajendragadkar.

We are very sorry to hear of the passing away of Prof. Gajendragadkar, who was Professor of Sanskrit in the Elphinstone College, Bombay and later Principal of the Siddhartha College, Bombay. There is hardly a student of Sanskrit literature who has not used with profit his annotated editions of classics like the Śākuntala, the Veṇīsaṁhāra, the Harṣacarita, the Daśakumāracarita, the Ṛtusaṁhāra, the Kāvyaprakāśa, and the Tarkasaṁgraha. He was actively connected with the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and the Annals of the B.O.R.I. for a long time. Besides being a teacher of Sanskrit and editor of Sanskrit classics, the late Prof. Gajendragadkar took an active interest in the military training of the young, having been made an officer of the U. T. C. and the Bombay Home Guards. By his premature death at 56 the world of Sanskrit at large and public life in Bombay and Maharashtra have become poorer.

Mm. Dr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojah.

In the death of Mm. Dr. G. H. Ojah, Indology has lost an outstanding all round scholar whose work in the field of archæology and history of Rajaputana is especially valuable. In recognition of his scholarship and research work, the Government honoured him with the title of Mahāmahopādhyāya, the Benares Hindu University with a doctorate, and the world of scholars with a commemoration volume. He was elected president of several historical and literary gatherings and conferences and was honorary member of many learned institutions.

His work on Indian paleography *"Bhāratīya Prācīnalipimālā"* (first edn. 1894, second revised edn. 1918) is a widely known pioneering work of importance. Among his other works may be mentioned *History of Sirohi, History of Solankis, History of Rathors, a Hindi translation of Tod's Rajasthan, Madhyakālīna Bhāratīya Samskṛti,* and an edition of the *Pṛthvīrājavijayamahākāvya.*

Prof. L. V. Ramaswami Iyer.

It is with great sorrow that we received the news of the sudden and premature end at the age of 53 of Prof. L.V. Ramaswami

Iyer while still in service in the Maharajah's College, Ernakulam. Unfortunately he could not live to see even his last article on the language of the Ramacarita printed in the last issue of this Journal. He was one of the few important and well-equipped writers in the field of Dravidian linguistics. Among his works may be mentioned Malayalam Morphology and Grammar in Litatilakam. He knew also German, French, Syriac and Russian.

DR. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

When we recently reviewed in the pages of this Journal (Vol. XV, pp. 189-190) three lectures of Dr. Coomaraswamy on the Indian pattern of society, we hardly realised that those were the last of the contributions of that distinguished savant. There has been no greater exponent of the ideals and methods of Indian art than Coomaraswamy and his death has created a void that can hardly he filled up

Born in Colombo on 22nd August, 1877, Ananda Coomaraswamy was, to begin with, a student of Geology, in which he graduated, took his doctorate and made some valuable contributions. Related to a distinguished family of Ceylon, keenly interested in literary studies, Dr. Coomaraswamy soon left the field of science and found Indian art as the appointed work of his life. It is impossible to give here a full list of all his writings, in the form of books, monographs and articles on subjects of Indian Painting, Sculpture and Iconography. Suffice it to say that his work, like that of a true genius, was marked by remarkable quantity and quality.

A firm believer in the traditionally cultivated arts and crafts of India (on which he published a book in 1913) and in Swadesi (on which he published some essays) Coomaraswamy lent his support (vide his contribution in the Hindu, Independence Number, August 15, 1947) to craft-based educational reorganisation. This took him on to a study in general of the Hindu pattern of social organisation, Hindu philosophy and Buddhistic philosophy, on all of which he wrote articles and books. For a time he was engaged in a deep study of medaevial christian aesthetic and its remarkable affinity with Indian aesthetic; to this subject too, he made valuable contribution.

Vedic philological *cum* philosohpical enquiries claimed his attention for some time but these studies of his did not command that wide support which his other writings did.

Unfortunately, even as his valuable collection of Indian art, his services too could not be had in the land he loved and strove all his life to interpret from his distant study in the Museum of Boston, U.S.A.

ERRATA

Vol. XVI, pt. 1, p. 30, lines *27-29*: Read the quotation from the Chāndogya Upaniṣad as follows:

न्यग्रोधफलमत आहर (इति) । इदं भगवः (इति) । भिन्धि (इति) । भिन्नं भगवः (इति) । किमत्र पश्यासि (इति) । अण्व्य इवेमा धाना भगवः (इति) । आसामङ्गैकां भिन्धि (इति) । भिन्ना भगवः (इति) । किमत्र पश्यसि (इति) । न किञ्चन भगवः (इति) ।

Ibid., p. 47, lines 19-20: Read "They are composed in equally chaste Sanskrit."

Ibid., p. 70, line 15: Read the date of demise of Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu as August 31st, 1947.

PRIZES FOR BOOKS ON HINDU CULTURE AND RELIGION

Besides the Prize of Rs. 1,000 for the book on Hindu Culture and Religion already announced in the last issue of this Journal by the undersigned, a sum of Rs. 500 will be awarded by Sri R. Srinivasa Iyer, Advocate, Trichinopoly, for the second best book. The condition for submission of manuscripts, and for the selection and award of the prize will be the same as for the Prize of Rs. 1,000.

AMRITA VILAS,
Madras 10
25—2—1948

M. SUBRAHMANYAM,
Retired Accountant General.

INDIAN CULTURE ESSAY COMPETITION

THE BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN invites original essays on any aspect of Bharatiya Samskriti (Indian Culture) written in Sanskrit, Hindi or English for the annual Essay Competitions which have been started in 1945. This year six gold medals (each of the value of Rs. 150) and six silver medals (each of the value of Rs. 25) are to be awarded. One gold medal and one silver medal will be awarded to the best and second best essay respectively received under each of the groups mentioned below. The branches of study given below in brackets are neither exhaustive divisions of the groups nor topics for essays in themselves, but are intended only to give a general idea of each group to a layman. The Bhavan will also award additional prizes if a large number of essays are received.

(1) Religion and Philosophy (Buddhistic, Jaina, Nyaya-Vaisheshika, Samkhya-Yoga, Vedanta, Mimamsa, Vyakarana,. etc.).

(2) Art and Architecture (Brahmanical, Buddhist, Jaina, etc.).

(3) Languages, Literature (Samskrita, Prakrita, Apabhramsha, Modern Indian Vernaculars, etc.), Linguistics and Literary Criticism.

(4) History (Political).

(5) Social and Economic Order.

(6) One gold and one silver medal have been specially donated for the best and next best essay on "Bhagavad Gita and Life."

CONDITIONS

1. The essays must be submitted by the end of December, 1948.
2. Each essay must cover approximately 150 pages of foolscap sheets typed in double spacing (Single side only).
3. The copyright of the gold medal essays will vest in the Bhavan subject to minor privileges to the authors.
4. The manuscript which should have temporary binding must bear the nom-de-plume of the contributor on the cover page and strict care should be taken to avoid disclosing the identity of the contributor. A sealed envelope bearing the nom-de-plume of the competitor on the outside and containing a slip giving his name and full address as also the nom-de-plume should be sent along with each essay.
5. Each contributor is allowed to choose the subject he prefers.
6. The decision of the judges selected by the Bhavan will be final.
7. The prize-winning essays will normally be kept in the Bhavan.
8. Though every care will be taken of the MSS. no responsibility attaches to the Bhavan in respect of them and authors are advised to keep duplicate copies with them.

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN,
Chowpatty Rd., Bombay 7.
14*th April* 1948.

J. H. DAVE,
Hon. Registrar.

THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE

A meeting of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute was held on Tuesday, April 6, 1948 at the Ranade Hall, Mylapore, under the presidency of Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. Belvalkar of Poona.

After prayer, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja read verses composed by himself specially for the occasion eulogising the services of Dr. Belvalkar to Sanskrit. Sri T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, President of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, in welcoming Dr. Belvalkar, and inviting him to take the chair, paid a tribute to Poona for its great reputation for scholarship and to Dr. Belvalkar for his work in the cause of Sanskrit culture and literature.

Dr. V. Raghaven, Secretary of the Institute, read messages received for the success of the function from H. E. M. S. Aney, Governor of Bihar, the Raja Saheb of Aundh and the Ganganath Jha Research Institute.

Sri K. Balasubramania Iyer, Secretary of the Institute, presented a short report of the work of the Institute for the period 1-9-47 to 31-3-48. He said that the members of the Institute were very glad to have Dr. Belvalkar in their midst, as it was he who prominently mentioned the idea of founding a Research Institute in the name of the late Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri in his Presidential Address to the Benares session of the All-India Oriental Conference. He appealed to all lovers of culture throughout the country to take an interest in the work of Institute and encourage it by becoming its Life Members, Fellows or Patrons.

Dr. S. K. Belvalkar in the course of his introductory remarks, mentioned how in 1919, at the First All-India Oriental Conference at Poona, he, the late Mms. Kuppuswamy Sastri and Ganganath Jha had met and discussed how best they could stabilise and continue Research work, and he was gratified today to find two Research Institutes in Madras and Allahabad in the name of those two scholars. Stressing the need for more work, Dr. Belvalkar appealed to friends and lovers of culture to come forward and help liberally the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute. Referring to the role

of research and Sanskrit, the Professor said that they revealed *the ancient glory of Bhārata Varṣa.* He declared that the study and development of Sanskrit literature was essential to to preserve *the unity of* Akhaṇḍa Bhārata.

Then Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri and Sri N. Raghunatha Iyer delivered two lectures on Sanskrit in Greater India and the Art of the Bhagavata. The texts of these two lectures are reproduced elsewhere in this issue.

In his concluding remarks, Prof. Belvalkar laid emphasis again on the unifying influence of Sanskrit. He hoped the day would not be far off when, as in the Universities of Taxila and Nalanda of old, Sanskrit would become the medium of instruction in our Universities. Considering how a totally foreign language like English had succeeded in this sphere, he said there should be no difficulty in Sanskrit resuming its great role of cultural unification of India.

Sri K. Balasubramanya Iyer thanked the President and the two lecturers.

SAMSKRIT IN GREATER INDIA

By

Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri

The part played by language in shaping human society and its culture, has been defined once for all by one of the most famous of our rhetoricians, Daṇḍī, in his *Kāvyādarśa*. He says :

> Idam andham tamaḥ kṛtsnam jāyeta bhuvanatrayam
> Yadi śabdāhvayam Jyotir-āsamsāram na dīpyate

I would only say that the expression *āsamsāram* must be understood both in a spacial and temporal sense. He was thinking primarily of Samskrit in making that statement. That statement is, however, sufficiently general to cover all languages which would have included what he would have called Samskṛta and Prākṛta. The view which says Prakṛti is Samskṛta and Prākṛta is derived from it, is a concoction that does credit to the heart of the man who put it forward, because he revered Samskrit with more enthusiasm than with a knowledge of proper linguistic development. The proper view is, as you all know, that Prākṛta is the natural speech and Samskṛta is, if I may so put it, sublimated speech, the literary dialect. I will merely indicate the lines of thought I pursue and not seek to expatiate on them, as I do not think it is necessary to do that to a learned audience like this. This question arises : Was Samskrit ever spoken ? Different views have been held on the subject. I would only say that if you peruse the Avadānas of Buddhist literature or the early Bhāṣyas like the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, or that of Śabarasvāmin on the Mīmāmsā-sūtras, the conclusion is apparent enough that Samskṛta, for all its 'artificiality', must have been spoken very widely at one time. It was only the other day at the Samskrit Sammelan that we saw some very learned pandits handling Samskrit with a facility which we all envied, and today you had a set of elegant verses from Dr. Kunhan Raja which show how well we can use Samskrit for our purposes. I would only draw your attention particularly to the very effective pun on Duśśāsana, comparing the danger to Samskrit studies to the fate that befell Draupadī in the

Sabhā of the Kauravas.[1]

Now, in our part of the country there is a notion that Samskrit is a Brahmin language. Well, it simply is not that. In the development of Samskrit and the whole body of its literature men of all classes have taken part, as well in authorship as in its study and propagation. Large sections of Samskrit literature are exclusively devoted to popular education, particularly the Purāṇas. How can you say that this language was intended only to serve the narrow purposes of an exclusive class ? Is Tamil, as is often claimed, again the exclusive property of those who are not Brahmins ? Here again facts are against the view. Tamil legends claim Agastya as its founder. But that apart, some of the greatest Tamil poets from the earliest times have been Brahmins. Tolkāppiyar was a Brahmin, and Kapilar of the Śangam Age for instance was another ; besides twenty-eight others more or less contemporary with him. The most famous commentators in the field of Tamil literature like Parimēlaḷagar and Naccinārkkiniyar, described as "*pulavargaḷ uccimēṟkoḷḷum*" (acclaimed by scholars as their head) were Brahmins. Hence Tamil literature owes a lot to Brahmins.

Yet another view known in this part of the country is that Tamil, unlike other Indian languages, is free from Samskrit influence. Again facts are against the notion. Here I will take permission to indicate my own experience. I was a student of Samskrit at school and college. But the desire to learn Tamil was in me and I started learning Tamil literature after I became a teacher and my teacher was one of the most famous Tamil scholars in those days, Śrī Subrahmaṇya Kavirāyar of Melagaram. I started with the *Villiputtūrar Bhāraṭam*, a work replete with Samskrit influence and vocabulary. I will give you one instance that comes to my mind. One verse began like this :

> Purātanāgama-vēda-gīta-purāṇa-rūpam oḷittu veṅ
> Kirātanāgiya vaḍivu koṇḍa giriśanōḍ-urai śeyguvān.

The next work I took up for study was *Pattuppāṭṭu* the first song of which was : *Tirumurug-āṟṟuppaḍai.*

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1. दुर्दैवाभिभवात्प्रनष्टविभवा पाञ्चालपुत्री यथा
गैर्वाणी विविधैश्छलैः परजनैः स्थानात्स्वकाच्च्याविता ।
सा दुश्शासनदूषिता प्रियजनैस्सार्धं च निर्वासिता
देशदद्य तु काननैकशरणा यानोन्मुखीवेक्ष्यते ॥

The first word of it was *Ulagam* (Skt. loka). I asked my teacher if this word was Tamil ; was it not Sanskrit ? He said, "No, this is a Tamil word and not Sanskrit". I said, "very good" and we passed on. I had hardly done sixteen lines when in the eighteenth line occurred the phrase :

nāvaloḍu peyariya polam-bunai-yavir-iḻai.

Of course this is good Tamil. There is no Sanskrit word in it. But how do you get this ? Obviously it is a Tamil rendering of Samskrit Jāmbūnada, the name for the purest gold. In another verse there is mention of a Pāṇḍya King by name Palyāgaśālai Mudukuḍumi Peruvaḻudi, the first title meaning 'Of the many sacrificial halls'. Elsewhere, Avvai, the Śangam poetess, compares the three kings of the Tamil country to the three sacred fires of the Brahmins.

Irupiṟappāḷar
Muttīp-puraiyak-kāṇḍagav-virunda
Koṟṟa-veṇkuḍaik-koḍittēr vēndir

Yet another poet in describing how his followers behaved when they very presented a large number of jewels by a rich patron to whom they had gone for patronage, says, "My followers being poor folk, did not know how to use what they got." It seems they put on their ear ornaments meant for the fingers, and the finger ornaments on their ears ; they put on their neck ornaments intended for the waist and *viceversa.* The poet compares their action with that of the monkeys that found Sītā's jewels which she dropped when Rāvaṇa carried her away. Here are his lines.

Kaḍunderi-Rāman-uḍan puṇar Sītaiyai
valittagaiy-arakkan vauviya-ñānṟai
nilañ-jēr madar-aṇi kaṇḍa kurangin
śemmugap-peruṇgilaiyiḻaip-polindā angu

These illustrations are taken from times earlier than which there is no written Tamil in existence. They are thus from the earliest stratum of Tamil literature to which we have access today. Who can say that that literature is free from Samskrit influence ? If you take a later poem like the *Śilappadikāram* you will see that in the section called Āycciyar Kuravai (the shepherdess' dance) the entire mythology of the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, and of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's childhood is handled with the utmost freedom and literary charm, with the implication that it was part of the folk lore of the Tamil land. I have no time to go into more details. The real truth of the matter is that Tamil, as we know it, does not contain

a single line of literature that ante-dates its contact with Samskrit influences. All honour to it. I do not say this to detract from its merit. I say *it merely to emphasise what our* President, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, *has so clearly put forward to-*day that Samskrit *is the pivot of our whole culture and to* show that Tamil culture is no exception to the rule. There is great need to day for us to recapture the live contact with our classics and to go to the deep-lying roots from which this great culture has grown in the past and is bound to grow in the future. When I consider all this, I am persuaded that there is much more than strikes at first sight in the views put forward by the H. E. Kailasnath Katju, the Governor of Orissa, and endorsed by Dr. C. R. Reddi, the Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University more recently, that Samskrit should be made the State language of the Indian Union.

But my subject today is Samskrit in Greater India and you may wonder what all this has got to do with that subject. The answer is that in Greater India Samskrit played the same role that it hasbeen playing for ages in our country. It brought culture to the Prākrit languages of those localities. What are the localities that I am primarily having in mind ? I am thinking of the whole of the Indo-China Peninsula and Indonesia right up to Borneo including the Philippines. Strictly speaking Greater India included even places in East Africa and Central Asia, but I am not bringing those places within the scope of my discourse on Greater India to-day. Now it is a French Archeaologist Dr. G. Coedes, who has observed that it is because of this close contact with Hindu culture which these lands enjoyed in ancient times that their ancient history interests us much more than for instance the ancient history of Australia or New Guinea. What interest we have in the past of this land is due to the work done by Hindu culture and Samskrit. Samskrit was the language of the Court andof culture, and of the public documents including the numberless inscriptions which still survive, and justify unmistakably our estimate of the role of Samskrit here. The local idioms of everyone of these places become charged with Samskrit words; and the Samskrit language of the inscriptions and literature of those lands borrowed quite freely from the local languages whenever there was necessity to do so. I shall read a few lines from the ealiest Malay inscriptions from Śrī Vijaya in Sumatra. It is a mixture of Samskrit and old Malay ;

Svasti Śrī Śakavarṣātīta 605 ekādaśi śuklapakṣa
vulan vaiśākha dapunta hiyam nayik
disamvu manalap siddhiyātrā di saptami
śuklapakṣa vulan jyeṣṭha dapunta..

I told you that Samskrit borrowed where necessary from the local dialects. I will give you one illustration, again from another inscription, this time from Java, It mentions the designations of local officials which are not of Samskrit origin. It is a beautiful Anuṣṭhup verse :

Paṅkura-tavāna-tīripa nāmabhir ādeśaśastribhī rājñaḥ
Tārā bhavanam kāritam idamapi cāpyārya bhikṣūnām

In fact there was a parallel evolution both in India and in the colonies in epigraphy. In India our earliest inscriptions are in Prākṛt, then we have Samskrit, and still later inscriptions are usually bilingual, in both Samskrit and the local language. In the colonies we miss the first phase.

The most important relics of Hindu influences in these lands are the stone inscriptions which tell us quite a lot about the role Samskrit played in the development of their culture. I have already given instances and will give just a few more. There have heen found seven stone Yūpas each of which bears an inscription in Samskrit in the eastern part of the island of Borneo. These records speak of a king by name Mūlavarman who is stated to have conqured many lands and subjugated them like Yudhiṣṭhira, and Mūlavarman's father was Aśvavarman ; his grandfather was Kundunga, not an Indian or Samskrit name. Mūlavarman performed many sacrifices and made large gifts, mentioned in the yūpas, like Bahusuvarṇaka, Gosahasra, Jaladhenu, Tiladhenu, Vṛṣabhaikādaśa and so on. Some of these inscriptions conclude with the statement; "*Yūpo'yam sthāpito viprair nānā-deśādihāgataiḥ.*" In the law and society of the ancient times of those lands the influence of Manu and Kauṭilya is quite unmistakably seen, and that influence still continues in the island of Bali where Hindu culture is preserved to this day in a small way. Dr. Stutterheim in his book on Bali says that to-day 7 per cent of the people of Bali belong to what they call Trivamśa meaning Brahma, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya. The rest of them call themselves Kaula or Śūdra, The sociology of these lands was practically regulated for all time on the lines of Indian sociology. In literature and art the influence again is unmistakable. Works like Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, Amarmālā, Arjuna-vivāha, and Kṛṣṇāyana are found there. In the region

of art and architecture, I have only to mention the names of Bara Budur, Prambanan and Angkor Vat for you to recall the superb achievements of the colonies, achievements which, while they were based on a through acquaintance with Indian models, in many ways left them far behind in boldness of conception and the perfection of finish in the execution. These great monuments and many other smaller ones which I need not mention here by name show how Buddhism and Hinduism, Śaivaism and Vaiṣṇavism all worked together in creating the culture of those distant lands. I do not know what the position is to-day after the recent upheavals, but till very recently there were court-Brahmins at Phnom Penh in Cambodia and at Bangkok in Siam who were Buddhists with the *śikhā* and the *upavīta*; they had many old icons in their charge including Gaṇeśa and Naṭarāja, and chanted the Ākom (Āgama) on ceremonial occasions like the coronation of a monarch. Again even to-day the Muslim merchants of Malaya and elsewhere write "chiri" at the top of the letters they despatch. It is really "Śrī". The Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and the Harivamśa as well as the Purāṇas furnish to this day the subject-matter of the stories that are staged in the theatres, the songs that are rendered in dance and the themes presented in the shadow plays and marionette shows throughout Indo-china and Indonesia. To quote again the French archæologist whom I have already referred to, Dr. Coedes : "From one end of Further India to the other spectators still continue to weep over the tribulations of Rāma and Sītā."

In these remarks, on a very vast subject, I have sought not to deal with it exhaustively—that could not be done in one lecture, but would need a series of lectures—but to give you a sufficiently clear idea of the place Samskrit occupied in these lands in the past. It is not very different from what it has been in our own country. I would enforce this, by reading with your leave a few extracts from one or two typical inscriptions to show the high style of Samskrit attained by the poets of the colonies who composed these inscriptions and with that I will close. Here is an inscription of the early 7th century from Kambuja :

Rājā śrī Bhava-varmeti patirāsīnmahībhṛtām
apradhṛṣya mahāsatvaḥ tungo Merurivāparaḥ

Outside Kālidāsa, where can you get such verse ? I will read a little more of that inscription and give another, also from Kambuja of the 9th century, the date is A. D. 877.

Somānvaye prasūtasya somasyeva payonidhau I
Kenāpi yasya tejastu jājvalīti sadāhave II
antas samutthā durgrāhyā mūrtyabhāvād atīndriyāḥ I
yadā ṣaḍarayo yena jitā bāhyeṣu kā kathā II
nityadāna-payassikta-karāneva matangajān I
ātmānukārādiva yaḥ samarāya samagrahīt II

and so on through many more such fine verses. And now to the other inscription of the ninth century. It begins :

śrī siddhi svasti jaya namaḥ parameśvarāya
niṣkalāya svabhāvena
svecchayā dhṛtamūrttaye I
śivāya parameśāya
namo' stu paramātmane II
yenaikenāpy anekeṣu
tiṣṭhatā yugapat pṛthak I
ātmāpi kriyate nityam
tasmai śūlabhṛte namḥ II
navarandhrādrirājyasthas
so' bhavat kamvujeśvaraḥ I
śrīndravarmā trivarggeṇa
varddhayan harṣayan prajāḥ II
rājñī rājaparamparoditavatī śrīrudravarmmātmajā
rājaśrīnṛpatīndravarmmatanayā jātā satī yābhavat I
patnī śrīprthivīndravarmmanṛpateḥ kṣatrānvayāptodgates
tasyā bhūmipatis suto nṛpanato yaś śrīndravarmmāhvayaḥ II

Omitting some verses, we may note the following in the description of the King :

dvayam kathannu samlakṣyam
iti dhātrā yadānanam I
vidhāya bhedabuddhyartham
mṛgāṇko nūnam ankitaḥ II
adhyāste yasya hṛdayam
naiva kāmo nirantaram I
tatsannihitacandrārddha—
cūḍāmaṇibhayādiva II
kṣirodasāramathanād
āharantam śriyam harim I
jahāseva prabhūtaśrīr
yyo bhūbhṛnmathanena tu II
viśālatvān nivasana—
kṣame vakṣasi saty api I
laulyādiva dhruvam yasya
lakṣmīs sarvvāṅgacāriṇī II

yena saundaryyavijito
jātalajja iva dhruvam I
līno manasi lokānām
adyāpi makaradhvajaḥ II

The purpose of the inscription is stated thus :

candravyomavasūpalakṣitaśake māghasya yāmye dine
śukle kumbhavṛṣāntataulamakarālyabjājagehāgate I
sūryyādau pratimās svaśilparacitā īśasya devyāś ca tāḥ
tisras sthāpitavān bhave vṛṣagate sa śrīndravarmmā samam II

Then follow the verses describing the King's gifts to the temple, a list of the temple's equipment so to say, and the conclusion contains the usual imprecation against those who misappropriate the charities and benediction in favour of those who protect them :

tena rājendrasinhena
samrājā śrīndravarmmaṇā I
tāni sarvvāṇi dattāni
devatāsv āsu bhaktitaḥ II
śivikā ātapatrāṇi
sauvarṇṇā rājatā ghaṭāḥ I
vicitrarūpā vahavo
hṛdyā viracitās tathā II
rājatāḥ pṛthukumbhāś ca
rājatavyajanāni ca I
karaṅkā hāṭakā raupyās
svarṇṇarūpyasamudgakāḥ II
bhājanāni ca raupyāṇi
yajñakośāś ca rājatāḥ I
sauvarṇṇakośakhaḍgāś ca
ratnāny ābharaṇāni ca II
hemarūpyapadādarśā
vālavyajankāni ca I
gandhadravyāṇi sarvvāṇi
kārpūraprabhṛtīni ca II
pharās suvarṇṇaracitā
rūpyālankṛtatomarāḥ II
vastrāṇi ca vicitrāṇi
sarvvopakaraṇāni ca II
narttakyaśśobhanā bahvyo
gāyanyo vādikās tathā I
vīṇādivādyavādinyo
veṇutāla—viśāradāḥ II
puruṣā rūpiṇaś ślāghyā
narttanādiviśāradāḥ I
bahavaś cāruveṣāś ca
sabhūṣaṇaparicchadāḥ II
naranārīsahasrāṇi
vahūni vahuvṛttayaḥ I
vahugrāmāś ca vistīrṇṇā
kedārārāmamanḍalāḥ II
gavām vahusahasrāṇi
mahiṣāś chāgalā api I
dviradendrās sagaṇikā
bahavas turagās tathā II
ye lobhād āhariṣyanti
dattāni śrīndravarmmaṇā I
te yāntu narakam ghoram
yāvac candradivākarau II
ye tu samvarddhayiṣyanti
śraddhayā parayā yutāḥ I
vasantu te śivapade
yāvac candradivākarau II

THE ART OF ŚRĪMAD BHĀGAVATA

BY

N. RAGHUNATHAN

I realise that in choosing the subject of this evening I may find myself between two fires. There are those who will consider it almost blasphemy to talk of one of the great scriptures of the world in terms of art; for art to-day has a purely secular significance. There are others who will contend, again from the modern view-point, that there is little conscious art in the Bhāgavata. In reply to the first school, whose views I shall consider in some detail later, I shall now content myself with pointing out that the prohibition काव्यालापांश्च वर्जयेत् was never intended to apply to an Itihāsa like the Rāmāyaṇa or a Purāṇa like the Bhāgavata whose subject is the *Uttama-śloka.*

Those who object that there is little art in the Bhāgavata may be able to make out a case which at first sight seems formidable. The Devil's Advocate will point out that the long rambling story is in reality only a series of episodes loosely fitted into the Purāṇic pattern under the conventional divisions. He will contend, further, that there is no unity of theme, that the story, such as it is, is interrupted again and again to introduce a hymn of prayer and praise which, however edifying, does not add to the interest of the plot, and that the laws of the spatio-temporal world are cavalierly set at naught. He will point out that the anuṣṭubh often limps, and that Śuka Brahmam is particularly fond of those peculiar moods and tenses of which Samskrit has an embarrassing profusion. Vopadeva, we are told, has, in his unpublished work *Paramahamsapriyā*, established that the Bhāgavata contains more than one thousand archaic forms not sanctioned by the grammarians. And it is hardly necessary to add that the Bhāgavata is unashamedly didactic—surely the supreme sin in the eyes of our modern literati!

To those who take this line, I would only say, "Read the Bhāgavata not once or twice but again and again. Remember that it has long been prescribed as a *pārāyaṇa grantha.* It may be that you are not interested in its frequent disquisitions

on the Sānkhya, that your taste reared on Macaulay rebels against the seas of butter and oceans of treacle in which Śuka revels. No matter. Read the work all the same, not skipping even these long and, to the beginner, dreary stretches. You will find that in time the book grows upon you." The Bhāgavata is undoubtedly an acquired taste. But once it gets hold of you, it is difficult to shake off its fascination. The more your mind feeds on it the less it comes to like conventional works of art. For, unlike them, it appeals to a layer of consciousness far deeper than that in which the aesthetic sense is located.

Art in India is traditionally non-representational in character, just as art in Europe was before the Renaissance. It does not simply imitate Nature, as St. Thomas Aquinas pointed out; "it imitates Nature in her manner of operation." The *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* says, "It is by the imitation of *daivic* works of art that every work of art is accomplished here, whether it be a clay elephant, an object of brass, an article of clothing, an object of gold or a mule chariot." European critics, under the guidance of such great scholars as our own Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy and the French savant Rene Guenon, are now coming increasingly to recognise this truth. So far as Indian iconography is concerned, we no longer hear those facile denunciations of gods with eight arms and three eyes as unnatural monstrosities—which was the stock response a quarter of a century ago. But Western understanding of our epics and Purāṇas is still largely unable to get over these hurdles presented by the senses. The fact, however, is that the Bhāgavata is a work of art in precisely the same way in which the great icon of Śiva Naṭarāja is a work of art and is put by the bhakta to precisely the same use—as a support for meditation. The common tradition that our Itihāsas have their originals laid up in Heaven is worth considering in this connection. Vālmīki is supposed to have adapted to our human understanding the Brahma-kṛta Rāmāyaṇa, शत कोटि प्रविस्तरम्. The Bhāgavata on the other hand is the mighty banyan tree that has grown from the seed sown by the Lord in the four verses in the second Skandha beginning अहमेवासमेवाग्रे... . It grew in two parallel lines. The two streams of tradition, to vary the metaphor, poured their store of waters into the Mānasa Lake which is

the mind of Śuka, there to provide perennial refreshment to the questing soul.

The work of art is a support for meditation because it is itself the result of meditation. ध्यात्वा कुर्यात् is the injunction that the artist must follow. The Rāmāyaṇa and the Bhāgavata are alike the result of yogic vision. धर्मेणावेक्षते गतिम् gives the key to our understanding of Vālmīki's great work. And Bhakti-yoga is the key to the Bhāgavata;

भक्तियोगेन मनसि सम्यक् प्रणिहितेऽमले ।
अपश्यत्पुरुषं पूर्वं मायां च तदुपाश्रयाम् ॥

You will find in the Bhāgavata many overtones, echoes and even positive reminiscences from the Rāmāyaṇa, to one or two of which I may have occasion to refer. There is nothing surprising in this, for Śuka pays magnificent tribute to the Rāmāyaṇa. But it would be not only silly to suppose him guilty of plagiarism, it would reveal a basic inability to understand the poetic process. The Itihāsas, all of them, draw from the common body of myths and legends which constitute the memory of the race. But, if the resemblances are striking, the differences are even more remarkable. That is due to the fact that the focussing lens which projects the poet's vision on the consciousness of the reader is different in each case. Vālmīki's dominant preoccupation is with Dharma, Śuka's with Bhakti. Śrī Rāma is Righteousness incarnate, Śrī Kṛṣṇa is Beauty incarnate. The *rasas* evoked in the mind of the reader who puts himself *en rapport* are correspondingly different. Our response in the one case is a heightened sense of reverence, in the other an ecstasy of delight.

While the Bhāgavata is traditionally attributed to Vyāsa, it is in a special sense the creation of Śuka. The dramatic scene in which the sage makes his entry in the first Skandha sets the key to the whole story. The Lord has withdrawn from the earthly scene to live with us for ever in his भागवतीतनु. It is this enchanting picture of the eternal Kṛṣṇa that the great artist builds up stroke by stroke against the sulphurous storm-tossed background of a world in dissolution. On this glorious figure he lavishes all the delicacy of his spiritual perception, all his wealth of poetic imagination. He plunges ever and anon into the depths of the Self and

returns bringing with him handfuls of pearl. He is charmingly grateful to Parīkṣit for keeping the image of the Lord ever new in his heart by his questions:

सतामयं सारभृतां निसर्गो
यदर्थवाणीश्रुतिचेतसामपि ।
प्रतिक्षणं नव्यवदच्युतस्य यत्
स्त्रिया विटानामिव साधुवार्ता ॥

The sage speaks as one in a dream; for the cosmic consciousness possesses him quite. वासुदेवे भगवति निमग्नहृदयोऽब्रवीत्: that is the fitting prelude to the narration of Kuchela's story, one of the grand peaks of the Bhāgavata.

It will not have escaped the confirmed novel reader that Vālmīki and Śuka do not bother to give us anything like a photographic delineation of the physical aspects of their respective heroes. The descriptions are, of course, many and frequent. But they are not particularised. To the casual reader they look like permutations and combinations of the *Sāmudrika lakṣaṇas*. Let us look at the divine children as they presented themselves to Akrūra's hungry eyes:

किशोरौ श्यामलश्वेतौ श्रीनिकेतौ बृहद्भुजौ ।
सुमुखौ सुन्दरवरौ बालद्विरदविक्रमौ ॥

You are inevitably reminded of the entranced description of the other Divine pair as Janaka the *jīvanmukta* sees them:

इमौ कुमारौ भद्रं ते देवतुल्यपराक्रमौ ।
गजसिंहगती वीरौ शार्दूलवृषभोपमौ ॥

Here is no minute cataloguing of the features of the face, of the peculiarities of the torso. From this it must not be supposed that Rāma and Kṛṣṇa were bloodless abstractions. Śrī Kṛṣṇa at least had enough distinguishing marks, we read, for his consorts to realise, though with some difficulty, that Pradyumna, who was the very spit and image of his father, as the saying goes, was in fact not Śrī Kṛṣṇa but a different person. The only reference to a physical peculiarity of Śrī Rāma's that Valmīki makes, if my memory serves me right, is in the description of that glorious right hand on which he rested his head when soliciting the aid of Samudra Rāja. The poet speaks of it as ज्याघातविगतत्वचम् ;

the reference is to the peeling off of the skin from the constant beat of the bowstring. Curiously enough, this is mentioned in the case of Śrī Kṛṣṇa too. When He along with Arjuna and Bhīma goes disguised to seek the boon of battle of Jarāsandha, that astute warrior detects the Kṣatriya behind the Brahmanical cloak from this identical mark, among other things: प्रकोष्ठैर्ज्याहतैरपि । Thus, apart from what you might call an occupational mark, there is nothing indicated by which the reader can make a mental picture of these *avatāra puruṣas*. There is the colour, of course, especially the intriguing श्यामल of Śrī Rāmacandra and the rather darker shade of Kṛṣṇa. "Imagine a green man!"—the votary of naturalistic art will shout in derision. But Śuka unabashed says:

दिशो वितिमिरा राजन् कुर्वाणौ प्रभया स्वया ।
यथा मारकतश्शैलो रौप्यश्च कनकाचितौ ॥

That shimmering glory of emerald and milk-white set against the golden glow of sunset is a light that never was on land or sea. Thus the poet communicates to you the vision of gods in human form:

यदृच्छयेव गां प्राप्तौ देवलोकादिवामरौ ।

Not otherwise can more than mortal beauty and power be conveyed.

At the close of the Daśama Skandha and as the crown of it we are vouchsafed a vision of the Bhūma Puruṣa—Viṣṇu with eight arms and a thousand lovely curls—who welcomes Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna as his own manifestations.

पुष्ट्या श्रिया कीर्त्यजयाखिलर्द्धिभिः
निषेव्यमाणं परमेष्ठिनां पतिम् ।
ववन्द आत्मानमनन्तमच्युतो
जिष्णुश्च तद्दर्शनजातसाध्वसः ॥

In regard to this transcendental vision Vopadeva in his *Muktāphala* has a *sūtra*: नेदृगेव इच्छारूपत्वात्: which his commentator expands somewhat as follows: "It may be asked, 'If this is indeed the appearance of Viṣṇu, then how is it that elsewhere He is differently described as having four arms, and so on?' The reply is that the Lord, who is without Nāma and Rūpa, assumes just those appearances which the bhaktas,

each according to his preference, would like to cherish." And for this statement explicit authority is to be found in the Bhāgavata itself, in the Brahmastuti in the third Skandha:

त्वं भावयोगपरिभावितहृत्सरोज
आस्से श्रुतेक्षितपथो ननु नाथ पुंसाम् ।
यद्यद्धिया त उरुगाय विभावयन्ति
तत्तद्वपुः प्रणयसे तदनुग्रहाय ॥

and again:

तान्येव तेऽभिरूपाणि रूपाणि भगवंस्तव ।
यानि यानि च रोचन्ते स्वजनानामरूपिणः ॥

Now, the reader will be better able to realise the significance of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's being depicted in the Bhāgavata as moving about the world, now in the guise of a normal man, now as a divine being with four hands holding the mace, the discus, and so on. The aim of the poet obviously is to make this central truth—that the Lord is as the devotee conceives Him in the core of his heart—part of the reverent reader's psychology, and to give him a fit object of meditation while at the same time familiarising him with the concept of God as not something unapproachable and unknowable but as the Inspirer within and the all-pervading Benevolence without us. The Kṛṣṇa of the Bhāgavata is no anthropomorphic creation. The ambition of Vālmīki and Śuka alike is to show God walking this earth of ours. But, whereas Śri Rāma lives like a man to show the way of perfection, Śrī Kṛṣṇa shows that God can consort with men by unbending to them. The ascent of man and the descent of Grace complete the cycle of experience which is the Cosmic Purpose.

Looked at this way, the numerous miracles of the Bhāgavata, particularly the Daśama Skandha, fall pat into their place. Miracles would hardly seem miraculous if they were not so infrequent. We talk for days on end of a strange light that appeared in the Northern sky; but we hardly devote a thought to the daily miracle of fruit and flower, the bloom of health on children's cheeks, the mysterious stirring of affection in hearts that were indifferent. It is the great poet who can give you beauty on the wing; to give an example from profane literature, there is the brilliant description by Mahāśvetā of the advent of her own youth.

क्रमेण च कृतं मे वपुषि वसन्त इव मधुमासेन, मधुमास इव नवपल्लवेन, नवपल्लव इव कुसुमेन, कुसुम इव मधुकरेण, मधुकर इव मदेन नवयौवनेन पदम् ।

It is this vision of beauty that Śuka sows broadcast in his descriptions of the Bāla Līlās, which the Gopī praised as triply blest—श्रवणमङ्गलं, ध्यानमङ्गलं and विश्वमङ्गलम् । The miracles are so many and so casually disposed of that you soon come to take them as a matter of course. When Pūtanā is killed it is not so much wonder or terror that the sympathetic reader feels as an onrush of affection for the child, so seemingly helpless, lying so confidingly on top of that mountainous form; and it is a feeling of kindliness not unmixed with envy that he feels for the would-be murderess sanctified by death, which in her case proves a veritable sea-change:

दह्यमानस्य देहस्य धूमश्चागुरुसौरभः ।
उत्थितः कृष्णनिर्भुक्तसपद्याहतपाप्मनः ॥

For the Gopīs and the young lads of Vraja the miracles have the attraction of the unexpected because they are part of Kṛṣṇa who is ever surprising them with new visions of loveliness. It is no accident that the Bāla Līlā portion contains almost all the entrancing pictures which have served generations of bhaktas as dhyāna ślokas:

बिभ्रद्वेणुं जठरपटयोः शृङ्गवेत्रे च कक्षे
वामे पाणौ मसृणकवलं तत्फलान्यङ्गुलीषु ।
तिष्ठन्मध्ये स्वपरिसुहृदो हासयन्नर्मभिः स्वैः
स्वर्गे लोके मिषति बुभुजे यज्ञभुग्बालकेलिः ॥
बर्हापीडं नटवरवपुः कर्णयोः कर्णिकारं
बिभ्रद्वासः कनककपिशं वैजयन्तीं च मालाम् ।
रन्ध्रान्वेणोरधरसुधया पूरयन् गोपवृन्दैः
वृन्दारण्यं स्वपदरमणं प्राविशद्गीतकीर्तिः ॥

None of these, it will be noticed, has any hint of the supernatural about it. But the poet succeeds in making you feel that the mere proximity of the Divine child was enough to send a tremor of joy through all created things. What a tremendous upsurge of affection there was in the breasts of the mothers of Vraja and of the cows when the Lord resolved to

baulk Brahmā by Himself becoming for the nonce both the calves and the children who took charge of them.

But Śrī Kṛṣṇa was not only the 'svajana' of the Gopīs; He had as many personalities as there were bhaktas, voluntary and involuntary, over whom He exercised mysterious fascination. Nārada told Yudhiṣṭhira:

गोप्यः कामाद्भयात्कंसो द्वेषाच्चैद्यादयो नृपाः ।
संबन्धाद्वृष्णयः स्नेहाद्यूयं भक्त्या वयं विभो ॥

One of the most famous ślokas in the Bhāgavata presents the Lord as He appears in the great divide of His earthly career, when he is about to enter the arena to fight the pugilists of Kamsa.

मल्लानामशनिः नृणां नरवरः स्त्रीणां स्मरो मूर्तिमान्
गोपानां स्वजनोऽसतां क्षितिभुजां शास्ता स्वपित्रोः शिशुः ।
मृत्युर्भोजपतेः विराडविदुषां तत्त्वं परं योगिनां
वृष्णीनां परदेवतेति विदितो रङ्गं गतस्साग्रजः ॥

Each got from Him what he looked for in Him. But the common bond was self-forgetful absorption, the तन्मयत्वं रसेषु of which Kālidāsa speaks. The elders of Gokula with Nanda Gopa at their head marvelled again and again at the exploits of this wonder-child, but they soon forgot them and were content to thank Destiny that had so miraculously preserved Him from peril after peril. Devakī and Vasudeva, who had been vouchsafed a vision of His *aprākṛta* form at the very start, could somehow never quite remember that their son was the Lord of the Universe. It almost looks as if Śrī Kṛṣṇa wanted to show that no mere man could, by being given a glimpse of the unveiled face of Deity, be convinced that he had indeed looked on it, or be transformed in the process. Take the case of Akrūra who rolled in ecstasy on the sands of Vraja because they bore the foot-prints of the Divine children and to whom when bathing in the Yamunā was granted the vision of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's identity with the Supreme Being. Who could believe that such a devout soul could join Sudhanva and Kṛtavarma in the conspiracy to cheat Śrī Kṛṣṇa of the Syamantaka jewel? This is so completely out of keeping with what we know of him before and after that Śrīdhara Svāmi stoutly maintains that Akrūra left Dvārakā, clandestinely, perhaps, but with the knowledge and consent of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

The text would hardly seem to warrant this nobly charitable interpretation. But it is instructive to compare the account of this episode in the Bhāgavata with that in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. The latter is much more realistic and makes out that Akrūra, though a better man than most, was not above ordinary human failings. His action in running away with the jewel is ascribed to disappointment and anger that Śrī Kṛṣṇa should have married Satyabhāmā whose hand had been promised him. But the Bhāgavata version takes scrupulous care not to dim the lustre of this devout bhakta. He is shown more as an unwilling victim to *yoga māyā.* He who had surrendered himself to the beauty of the Divine child at Gokula was confounded by the ways past understanding of the Paramātmā in Dvārakā.

The women were rather more percipient than the men. It is in their hearts that His infinite variety and charm are reflected as in a thousand mirrors. The mother-love of Yaśodā, the *mugdha-praṇaya* of the little girls who prayed to Ambikā to grant them the boon of getting Kṛṣṇa for their spouse, the wistful tenderness of the Yajña Patnīs, the self-forgetting, self-consuming passion of the Gopīs, the adoration of Rukmiṇī—it is these that flash back that brilliance of a thousand facets.

But, of all the great souls who came into contact with Śrī Kṛṣṇa none but Uddhava understood Him quite or accepted Him in His illimitable fullness. Uddhava alone had achieved the unitive consciousness; and he was content to be the footstool of the Lord. It was Uddhava He sent to the Gopīs to console them; it was Uddhava who accompanied Him to the house of Sairandhrī the siren; and in one of those unforgettable vignettes of happy domesticity we get in the last adhyāyas of the Daśama Skandha it is Uddhava who forms the third of the party when the Lord plays at dice with His own consort. No wonder that when Śrī Kṛṣṇa goes to Vaikuṇṭha He leaves Uddhava in charge of His message, saying "Uddhava is in no wise inferior to me." One is irresistibly reminded of the other great Bhāgavata Hanumān who prefers to remain on earth because there he can listen to the sweet music of the Rāmāyaṇa.

And mention of music brings us to the magic of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's flute. The Rāsa Panchādhyāyī is the heart of the Daśama Skandha as the Daśama is the heart of the Bhāgavata. Śrī Kṛṣṇa is presented there as the Rasaprada *par excellence.*

Those who surrender themselves to the imperious call of the flute find fulfilment forthwith; as did the Gopīs who could not join Him on that glorious night when all Nature voiced the summons to the sands of the Yamuna:

विकसत्कुन्दमन्दारसुरभ्यनिलषट्पदम् ।
शरच्चन्द्रांशुसन्दोहध्वस्तदोषातमःशिवम् ।
कृष्णाया हस्ततरलाचितकोमलवालुकम् ।

The *viraha* of those forcibly detained at home was so great that they shook off the mortal coil and attained Him sooner than those who joined in the dance. For these latter were afflicted with मान that ultimate egoism which makes for separation. In a famous couplet Śrī Kṛṣṇa Chaitanya points out that मान is the enemy.

तृणादपि सुनीचेन तरोरपि सहिष्णुना ।
अमानिना मानदेन कीर्तनीयः सदा हरिः ॥

And when Śrī Kṛṣṇa tells Yudhiṣṭhira that he could go ahead with the *Aśvamedha* He explicitly endorses this. "Having, by thy self-control, won Me—whom the self-willed can never hope to gain,—you will find that no one else will be able to withstand you."

Neither the devas nor the asuras, as the Bhāgavata sees them, are wholly free from the besetting sin of egoism. Vṛtra, Bali and Hiraṇyakaśipu are profoundly aware of the paramountcy of God, the transience of life, the inescapable law of Karma. And yet they go on challenging fate because they must needs obey the law of their being which is self-assertiveness. Brahmā and Indra make the same mistake, piqued it would almost seem by professional jealousy! But they have the grace to admit their mistake and make handsome amends.

The world, it has been said, is an idea in the mind of Deity. And in the Bhāgavata the cosmic vision of Śuka the seer gives us the mind of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, that world of infinite harmony, endless delight and limitless love. In his portrayal of the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa there is a highly selective imagination at work. I have referred to the manner in which he handles the Akrūra story. Not less striking in its own way is the story of how Sālva tries to bewilder Śrī Kṛṣṇa by cleaving in twain before his very eyes a magical double of Vasudeva. The episode is obviously reminiscent of the incident in the Rāmāyaṇa in which Indrajit momentarily deludes Hanumān by a similar trick. But, after recounting the

story of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's confusion Śuka explains that he gives the version of the incident as he had it from his predecessors, but he himself does not believe it, because he is convinced that the Ever-Enlightened One could never have been thus deluded. He says, again and again, "Because Śrī Rāma and Śrī Kṛṣṇa acted like men in certain circumstances, don't be so foolish as to conclude that they were mortals or that you can do with impunity what they did. They were, you may be sure, setting an example to humanity or warning it against the pitfalls. Erring man can do no better than obey their injunctions implicitly. But he who accepts the Eternal Kṛṣṇa, the Beauty and Delight that sustain the Universe, passes unscathed beyond the bounds of sorrow and sin." The Bhāgavata bodies forth the Supreme Person of the Upanishads: रसो वै सः ॥

I have dealt at some length with the Bhāgavata as a supreme example of traditional Art which is founded on the bed-rock of metaphysic. But in our preoccupation with ideas we must not forget form and language. Degas, the French painter, who also dabbled in verse, once complained to Mallarmé, the poet, that while he was full of ideas the poems would not come out. Mallarmé's reply was: "My dear fellow, poetry isn't written with ideas; it's written with words." Samskrit poets would prefer to say that word and meaning are indivisible: वागर्थाविव संपृक्तौ is the famous simile by which Kālidāsa establishes the identity of Śiva and Śakti. It is not therefore surprising that Śuka is a great artist in words and that his sense of form is infallible. In the Kuchela Upākhyāna you have that combination of intensity of vision with swiftness of narrative and economy of statement which produces the impression of inevitability; it is great art. It is true that the Bhāgavata contains large and frequent patches of aridity—conventional descriptions, abstract dissertations and, as some would complain, fanciful cosmology. But which great writer is uniformly excellent? Remember, too, that traditional art moves within the broad limits of a pre-determined orbit, and must conform to certain basic requirements.

But, within those limits, what a wealth of life is there! Śuka the nityasiddha knew the entire gamut of human emotions. The psychologist in him was not less wide awake than the moralist. Take the Jaḍa Bharata story: it is not

only great prose, it is superb drama. Could the hopes and fears of the fond parent be more subtly pictured than in the memorable soliloquies of the Royal sage who was but the other day on the threshold of liberation but is getting every moment deeper into the slough of attachment? Look at the tremendous study in contrast offered by the Vāmana-Trivikrama avatāra. How convincingly it establishes that the moral law is part of the Ṛta or natural order that sustains the cosmos. The Viśvarūpa Darśana in the Gītā is justly famous; but it seems to me that the dynamic vision of the Lord overwhelming the three worlds is not less impressive. And the sense of awe in the mind of the reader gives place to exulting adoration when, by one of those transforming touches which come so naturally to the seer of the Bhāgavata, the vision is momentarily focussed on the homely garland of *tulasi* which the Cosmic Person loves to wear.

मधुव्रतस्रग्वनमालया वृतो रराज राजन् भगवानुरुक्रमः ।

That the Lord can be lovable in his most terrible mood the Prahlāda Upākhyāna triumphantly establishes. And, talking of Prahlāda, what a marvellous insight into the child mind the Bhāgavata offers! Dhruva, Prahlāda, Nārada, the fortunate children of Vraja and, as the crest-jewel of them all, the darling of the Gopīs Himself—what a glorious testimony they offer to the humanity of the sage! He, the सर्वभूतहृदय, is as sensitive to the despairing appeal of Gajendra as to the piteous cry of Uttarā fleeing from Aśvatthāman's unrighteous wrath. And his art is so consummate that he transmits to the reader something of his own universal sympathy. His words drip honey when he speaks of the Ekānta Bhakta; but he can also sting like a whip of scorpions. The rapier-like thrust of his irony exposes the purse-proud and the power-mad; but he can gently laugh at the foibles of the frail. Above all, to the reader who surrenders himself to his subtle influence, he can communicate something of the passionless peace with which he, the आत्माराम, confronts the world. Thanks to the supreme genius of Śuka Brahmam there wells up in the heart of the devout student, as he contemplates the eternally recurrent miracle on the banks of the Yamunā, that deep delight which made the great Advaitin and Kṛṣṇa Bhakta, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī exclaim in rapture:

कालिन्दीपुलिनेषु यत्किमपि तन्नीलं तमो धावति ।

THE LATER DAYS OF BHŌJA 'THE GREAT'.

BY

VEDAM VENKATARAYA SASTRI, M.A.

The name of King Bhōja is enough to conjure with in Sanskrit Literature. He flourished during the first half of the 11th century and was the contemporary of Karṇa of Dāhaḷa, Bhīma of Aṇhilwad and three great South Indian Kings, Trailōkyamalla-Āhavamalla of the Karṇātaka, Rājādhirāja of the Cōlas and Rājarājanarēndra of the E. Cāḷukyas. But the connections of this monarch with these kings is still to be worked out. Though the northern sources are meagre, South Indian Epigraphy coupled with the literature of the North seems to throw some light on the later days of this talented ruler.

The evening of Bhōja's life was far from being peaceful. His existence and the fortunes of his realm were threatened by enemies on all sides. There are several divergent stories about the troubles and subsequent death of Bhōja. Mērutuṅga in his Prabhandha-cintāmaṇi says that Bhīma of Anhilwad being unable to attack Bhōja until the latter incurred the hostility of the Dāhaḷa King Karṇa, joined Karṇa in an attack on Bhōja and agreed to share the war spoils on equal terms. Karṇa, it is said, was assisted by one-hundred and thirty-six princes. After the conquest of Malwa, the poem continues, there was disagreement between the two allied kings as Karṇa took the entire spoils without caring for Bhīma. Thereupon the clever agent of Bhīma imprisoned Karṇa when he was asleep and extracted from the latter a golden shrine and the image of Śiva. The poem further states that King Bhōja being attacked by these two kings, lost his pride, as a snake, overcome by a charm, loses its poison and then being overtaken by a corporeal malady died. The Vadnagar praśasti of the Cāuḷukya Kumārapāla states that 'his (Bhīma's) horses, supremely skilled in accomplishing the five paces (called Dhārā) quickly gained Dhārā, the capital of the Emperor of Malwa' (E.I. Vol, I, p. 297, v. 9). The Kīrtikaumudī says that Bhīma vanquished Bhōja, king of Dhar, but spared his life. (Sarga II, vv. 16-18). Similarly the Sukṛtasankīrtana states that Bhōja was defeated by Bhīma. (Sarga II, vv. 17-20) The Kumārapālacarita of

Jayasiṁhadēva poetically states that before the greatness of Bhīma the arm of Bhōja faded away like a lotus (v. 34). Hēmacandra mentions nothing of the battle between Bhīma and Bhōja but says that Karṇa defeated Bhōja but being hard pressed by Bhīma's agent Dāmōdara, surrendered Maṇḍapikā to Bhīma. (Dvyāśraya-kāvya, Sarga IX, v. 57, p. 692).

More clear and authentic information is found in the Cāḷukyan records and the king of the Deccan seems to have given the coup-de-grace to the last scene of Bhōja. The statement of Bilhaṇa (Vikramāṅkadēvacarita, Canto I vv. 91-94) that Sōmēśvara deprived Dhārā of Bhōja (Bhōja-kshamāpāla vimukta Dhārā) and swallowed it like a morsel of food (Dhārām......kavalīcakāra) seems to mean more directly that Bhōja perished in his wars with the Karṇātakas. The details of the Cāḷukyan invasion of Mālwa are given in the Hōysala records very vividly. It is stated that when the fortresses of the Mālwa king were impregnable baffling all the efforts of the Cāḷukyas, Ereyanga, the Hoysala Chief, took great pains and leading a campaign conqurered Māḷava in the very presence of his lord, the Cāḷukyan king. (E.C. V, A.K. 117). Another record states that at the orders of the Cāḷukyan Emperor, Ereyanga led an expedition to Māḷava and married the damsel of victory through Dhārā with Agni for witness, meaning thereby that he conquered Dhārā and burnt the palace. There is a pun here on the words Dhārā and Agni as a Hindu marriage is done by the bride being offerred and given away along with a watery libation and the oaths being taken at the altar of fire (E.C. V. AK. 102 A.V.) The Belur record of 1117 A.D. gives greater details about the burning of Dhārā. 'Dhārā, the well-known (city), the resort of all the valorous Māḷava kings, enlarged by Bhōja the powerful who had conquered all his enemies, she, became the first sip of water (Āpōśana) for Ereyanga in eating up the royal foes at the time of his conquest of the direction of Kubēra (the north); how about describing such a warrior. Obstructing the sight, encasing (with smoke) and making the white tusks of the elephants of the corners of the world look dark and making the entire cloudless space between the earth and the heaven look full of clouds by the smoke, Poysala, whose valour is like a big fire, set fire to the principal (or border) fortresses of Bhōja. Who is more valiant than this (Valiant—Dhīra,) who erected a column of smoke as if it were

the victory column of his emperor (Trailōkyamalla—Āhavamalla), causing the beginning of the destruction of Bhōja, full of 'rāga' (red colour due to flames and love due to his loyalty) by killing the enemies and burning them (and their property) while, on his march, the hills of the four (quarters) by their uproar and being screened by the cloud-like dust caused by his army looked as if they were covered by real thundering clouds? (The translation of Mr. Rice is incomplete and faulty. This is a fresh and true translation). The principal fortresses burnt by Ereyanga are named in another record. (E.C. V, AK. 102-A). 'The unobstructed fire of valour of Poysala ate Khaṇḍava and covered it completely, burnt Maṇḍava on the slopes of the Vindhya Mountains and took Udhapuram' (Rice's Translation is once again faulty. This is fresh one). Of these three places Maṇḍava is clearly Mandu fourteen miles from Dhār itself and it was one of the important fortresses of the Paramaras. Khaṇḍava is decidedly a place in the Malwa country as there is no allusion to the Mahābhārata story in the verse. Udhapuram is no doubt Udaipur of the Paramāras and the findspot of many of their records.

Ereyanga was not all alone in this triumph and besides him there were several others, officers and subordinates of Āhavamalla, who took part in this expedition against Bhōjā. Guṇḍamayya one of the Daṇḍanāyakas of Sōmēśvara states that he was like a royal swan strolling on both the banks of the Narmadā, an evil comet to the Māḷava people, the capturer the fort of Maṇḍava and was held in honour in the city of Dhārā. (A.R. of Mysore 1939 pp. 68-69). The Kākatīya prince Bēta II states that he was a lion to the maddened elephants, the Cōḷa and Māḷava. (Khazipet Insn. Hy. Arch. Series 13-7). The Bhrahman Daṇḍanāyaka, Bācharasa, the second son of Kāḷidasa Daṇḍanātha, is praised in the Nagai record of 1058 A.D., as having subdued the Māḷava and several others. (H.A.S. 8). His brother Madhusūdana is also credited with a victory over Dhārā and is said to have expelled Bhōja from that city (Ibid). Nāgadēva the Mahāsāmantādhipati and the Mahāpracaṇḍa Daṇḍanāyaka is called in 1061 A.D. as Cōḷa Kālāntaka, Bhōja-bhujanga-ahidviṣa, Gūrjara Madaharaṇa (L.R. Vol. 25, p. 156). Jēmarasa another feudatory is described as a 'flame of doom to Bhōja' (The Hottur record of 1067 A.D. E.I. XVI, p. 86).

Besides these references Āhavamalla, the Cāḷukyan emperor credits himself with the conquest of Dhārā and burning of Maṇḍava. Western Cāḷukyan history seems to help in not only fixing the date of the fall of Bhōja but in arranging the course of events also. The last known date of Bhōja is 1047 A.D., which is found in the Tilakwada copper plates. The next ruler of Malwa is known as a certain Paramāra Jayasimha from his first record in 1055 A.D. (The Māndhāta Plates, E.I. III, p. 46). It is not known whether this Jayasimha succeeded Bhōja immediately, was the son of Bhōja or was of a collateral branch of the Paramāras. He simply states that he is a 'pādānudhyāta' of (meditator on the feet of) Bhōja. The long gap between the two dates is enough to confirm the above story and make the historian think that there was confusion and anarchy in the realm of Bhōja for some time. The events in the Deccan were as follows. In 1048 A.D. Āhavamalla was fighting with the Cōḷas (S.I.I. Vol. IV, 329). In 1049 A.D. he was staying at Vagghāpura in the Karahātanādu after his 'Pallava-digvijaya' (B.K. I-1, 83). Whether this expedition was to punish Bhōja or not it is clear that it was aimed at some rulers of Konkaṇ as we find Cāḷukyan generals fighting there. In 1047 Akkādēvi, the aunt of Sōmēśvara I, was active around the fortress of Gokak near Belgaum. (B.K. I-I, 80). She is seen staying in Konkaṇa even three years later restoring peace in the land. She was 'restoring the corporate constitution of eight Settis and eighty householders which had broken down in the stress of the war with the Cōḷas'. (B.K. I-1, 87). In the same year a little later she is found sending a certain commander, Ajjarasa, on some enemy in the neighbourhood (B.K. I-I, 86). Hence it is clear that there was trouble in Konkaṇa before 1047 A.D. and while Akkādēvi was keeping the enemy at bay Āhavamalla also came to her help after defeating the Cōḷas in 1048 A.D. That this rebellion in the Konkaṇa was due to the Cōḷa diplomacy is also clear from the above records of Akkādēvi.

Besides Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara there were some of his able generals fighting the Konkaṇigas. A record of 1053 A.D. mentions this enemy of the Cāḷukyas as the Śilāhāra chief Mummuri who was having his seat of Government at Thaṇe. The Ratta chief Kārtavīrya bears the title 'Mummuri-konkaṇiga-jaladhi-baḍabānalam' (The submarine fire to the Ocean Mummuri of Konkaṇa) and 'Thāṇeya-kautūhalam'

(an interesting object to Thāṇe) (L.R. 25, p. 217; E.I. XII, p. 268). The Mahāmaṇḍalalēśvara Mummuṇi Mummuri or Mamvaṇi is one of the Śilāhāra chiefs for whom we have a date in Śaka 982 (A.D. 1059-60) recording that a palace of Chittarāja was restored for his use (D.K.D. of Dr. Fleet p. 543). He appears as the second younger brother of Chittarāja of Thāṇe (D.K.D. p. 539). Besides Kārtavīrya, there was another general called Pulakēśi who attacked Mummuri. The Bharangi record of the time of Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI, dated 1118 A.D. (E.C. VIII, Sb. 325) gives the following praise of Āhavamalla and Pulakēśi: '... marching upon Thāṇe, twisting the neck of Mummuri and putting in his place an agent under his own orders, Pulakēśi without any difficulty burnt Kānci; it being said that the Cōḷa burnt Kalyāṇa, taking a single elephant the King Āhavamalla with invincible courage slew the warlike Cōḷa.' Though the record belongs to a later date, there is no doubt that these events happened before the great battle of Koppam in which the Cōḷa king, Rājādhirāja, died in 1054 A.D.

The Cōḷa was the natural enemy of the Karṇātaka King and there were regular invasions of the dominions of the latter by the former from 1044 A.D. to 1054 A.D. There must have been very strong reasons for Sōmēśvara to punish the Konkaṇa chief in between two Cōḷa wars. The Konkaṇigas were under the influence of the Cōḷas, and Āhavamalla appears to have felt them a source of danger at his rear while fighting with the Cōḷas. Similar was the position of Bhōja and there is strong reason to believe that he was in league with the Cōḷas. The enmity of the Cāḷukyas with the Paramāras having had its beginning under Tailapa and Muñja was continuing and there are instances where the Paramāras had gone directly to the Cōḷas to get help against the Western Cālukyas. The records of the 33rd year of Rājādhirāja (1050-51) mention another of the Cōḷa wars with Āhavamalla and state that the Cōḷa king offered protection to the descendants of the Gūrjara Uppalan, slain formerly by Tailapa and restored (to them) the crown of the former seized and attached by the latter to his war-drum and thus subjugated the Rattapadi seven-and-a-half-lakh country (E.C. IX, Dv. 76). Besides this we find Āhavamalla almost simultaneously engaged in fighting with the Cōḷa on the south and Bhōja and Konkaṇa on the north

Turning to the events of the period there is good reason to state that Āhavamalla went to Malwa from Karahad in 1049 A.D. leaving Polakēśi and others to deal with the Konkaṇa, for the Bharangi record states that Polakēśi after punishing Mummuri set fire to Kānci after which the Cōḷas (in retaliation) burnt Kalyāṇa and Āhavamalla hearing of it hastily reached home. A record from Nagai dated 1058 A.D. vividly describes that Āhavamalla hastened home from Māṇḍu and gives the order of the events. (Hy. Arch. Series No. 8 B). "The King Trailōkyamalla, having on that side (that is the North Indian) entered and burnt Dhārā with determination, having on this (side, the southern) penetrated and set on fire (the city of) Kānci by the strength of arm which had already (or just before 'Munnam') captured Maṇḍava and killed the Cōḷā in anger, brought his (Cōḷa's) fresh decapitated head. Having raided on and burnt the city of Ujjain noted for (its) ramparts (alurkke) (he) there bore the silver ball with pride, by the strength of his arm" (V. 17).

The order of the events is this: (*a*) burning of Dhārā and capture of Maṇḍava, (*b*) burning of Kānci and (*c*) the killing of the Cōḷa. The order of events according to Bharangi record is as follows: (*a*) punishment of Mummuri, (*b*) the burning of Kānci by Polakēśi, (*c*) the burning of Kalyāṇa by the Cōḷas, (*d*) the death of the Cōḷa and (*e*) another expedition to Dhārā. The burning of Dhārā and the punishment of Mummuri appear to have been simultaneous events. Kānci was next burnt by Polakēśi and the Cōḷas gave a similar treatment to Kalyāṇa in retaliation. Then Āhavamalla having heard of it returned home and met the Cōḷa in battle.

It is now clear that the exploits of Ereyanga in Malwa were identical with those of Āhavamalla, that is that he distinguished himself during the expedition of the latter. The death of Cōḷa is no doubt the death of Rājādhirāja in the field at Koppam in 1053-54 A.D. The earlier event, the burning of Kalyāṇa is first mentioned in the Cōḷa record of the 33rd year of Rājādhirāja A.D. 1051 (S.I.I. VII, 1046). Corroborating the statement that Āhavamalla returned home after he heard of the sack of Kalyāṇa we find a record showing him staying at Kalyāṇa itself in December 1052 A.D. (S.I.I. IX-I, 111). Hence if Kalyāṇa was burnt a little before 1051 A.D., that of Kānci decidedly preceeded it, most probably when the Cōḷas

were leading a campaign against the Cāḷukyas that same year. It is now quite clear that Āhavamalla's attack on Bhōja and that of Polakēśi on Mummuri should have taken place about 1050 A.D. as Āhavamalla was in Karahāta in 1049 A.D. and the Cōlas received at Etagiri and Pundur in 1051 A.D. an embassy from the descendants of Uppala Gūrjara to help them against the Western Cāḷukyas.

The following events also prove that Bhōja was dead by 1050 A.D. It cannot be said definitely that it was Bhōja who sent an embassy to the Cōḷas as he is the nephew of Muñja and not his son. The Cōḷa record of 1051 mentions the refugees as the descendants in the plural and it is likely that Bhōja having died some time before there were rival claimants to the throne of Malwa and some of them approched the Cōḷas. The Nagai record quoted above mentions an expedition to Dhārā after the death of the Cōḷa on the field. This should have happened definitely after the Koppam battle. To confirm this there were the following events. In the year 1055 A.D. the Paramāra king Jayasimha is found as the ruler of Malwa in Dhārā (E. I. III, p. 46). The date of his accession is not known but it is likely that he ascended the throne sometime earlier. Though it is not known whether he was the son of Bhōja or a descendant of Uppalan there is a later tradition preserved in the Ain-i-Akbari as follows: " Muñja gave thanks to God, welcomed Bhōja ... and appointed him as his successor. When his son Jayachand's reign ended none of the Ponwar cast was found worthy to succeed ". Dr. Ganguli believes that Jayachand is Jayasimha. If this is to be accepted he was either the descendant of Uppalan or his rival to the Malwa throne. The rule of Jayasimha lasted only till the end of 1059 A.D. (Panhera Insn. A.S.I. 1916-17, p. 19). Almost the same year we find Udayāditya Paramāra ruling over Malwa (D.H.N.I. II, pp. 875). Udayāditya, in the Nagpur-prasasti (E.I. II, pp. 192-195, v. 32) is said to have taken his ancestral throne by driving away the combined forces of the Karnātas and the Cēdis. It follows: 'When he (Bhōja) had become Indra's companion and when the realm was overrun by floods in which its sovereign was submerged, his relation, Udayāditya, became king. Uplifting the earth, which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karṇa, who, joined by the Karrātas, was like the mighty ocean, he acted like the holy Boar.' If Udayāditya was a

'relation' of Bhōja and not his son and if he defeated Jayasimha, which is most probable as he was the previous ruler, and took the kingdom from him after ousting the combined forces of the Karnātas and Karṇa, it follows that Udayāditya was most probably the 'descendant of Uppalan' of the Cōḷa records and Jayasimha was a friend of the Karnātas and the Cēdis. To confirm this as it were the Vikramānkadēva-caritam states that Vikramāditya restored to Malwa a prince of the royal family who took shelter under him (Sarga III, v. 67).

Putting the above facts together: 1. The probable death of Bhōja in about 1050 A.D., 2. The embassy received by Rājādhirāja at Etagiri from the 'descendants' of Uppalan, before 1054 A.D., 3. The Cāḷukyan invasion of Malwa soon after the Koppam battle or a little later, 4. The accession of Jayasimha sometime before 1055 A.D. to Malwa, and finally 5. his overthrow by Udayāditya after defeating the Karnātas and the Cēdis before 1059 A D. - it is quite plain that Bhōja died in the Cāḷukyan war in 1050 A D. and there were rival claimants to the Malwa throne. One of them approached the Cōḷas and the other, the Cālukyas. Most probably Jayasimha was installed by the Cāḷukyas and the honour of superintending the work was given to Vikramāditya in 1050 A.D. itself. The Cōḷas encouraged their candidate by giving constant trouble to the Cāḷukyas thereby disabling them from helping their candidate in Malwa. The Cāḷukyas however went to the succour of Jayasimha in about 1059 A.D., after defeating the Cōḷas at Koppam in 1054, but unfortunately were defeated along with their ally, Karṇa of Cēdi.

The Cēdi King Karṇa seems to have broken with the Cāḷukyas soon after for Bilhaṇa states in his usual poetic way (sarga I, v. 102) that Āhavamalla made the damsel of the fortune of Dāhalā (of the Cēdis) bereft of 'Karṇa' (also ear) for picking up a quarrel with him and on account of that (loss of Karṇa) she (Dāhaḷā) is still not able to wear the ear-ornaments of fame which are white like camphor. It is not known how this quarrel arose but the Nagpur-praśasti seems to indicate that Karṇa was the chief man in fighting with Udayāditya and the Karnāta Āhavamalla joined him. ('Miḷat Karnāta Karṇa prabhum'-note the singular 'prabhum'). It is likely that the Karnāta allies of Karṇa failed his expecta-

tion in defending Jayasimha in 1059-60 though they joined him against Udayāditya and hence the quarrel. As this expedition is attributed to Āhavamalla and not Vikramāditya the date falls in about 1059 as the latter's triumphal march was undertaken towards the end of Āhavamalla's reign.

There seems to be some substratum of truth in the statements of Mērutunga though he does not mention the part played by the Karnātakas and gives a somewhat confused account. His account may be accepted with some alterations in the light of epigraphy as follows. As he says Bhīma was unable to defeat Bhōja till 1047 without help and the defeat of the Gūrjara by Sūrāditya the general of Bhōja might well corroborate the above statement as the rulers of Anhilwad were also the lords of Gujerat. (Tilakwada plates.) Then there was an alliance between Bhīma and Karṇa, and Sōmēśvara joined them in about 1049. The princes who attacked Bhōja in the company of Karṇa could have been none else than the feudatories of Bhīma, Karṇa and Sōmēśvara of Karnātaka. Most probably the Karnātaka feudatories were large in number as we find the Hoysalas and the Kākatīyas of princely rank among the allies. That Bhōja was free and defeated some of his enemies before this huge coalition of his enemies attacked him is also clear from the Hoysala record which states that 'Dhārā, the well-known (city) the resort of all the valorous Māḷava Kings, enlarged by Bhoja the powerful who had conquered all his enemies, she became the first sip of water for Ereyanga in eating up the royal foes at the time of his conquest of the direction of Kubēra (the north)'. There is no doubt that Sōmēśvara was a member of the opposition in this connection as the record of Udayāditya testifies to it.

The story of the quarrel between the allies also seems to be true. In the spoils of Dhārā Āhavamalla also had his share for he is said to have taken 'a ball of silver at Dhar' which is otherwise inexplicable. ("Belliya-gundu gondan adatam" Nagai record). It is not known whether Bhīma and Karṇa disagreed soon after Bhōja's death but Karṇa and Sōmeśvara were on good terms until Udayāditya defeated them in 1059, and Sōmēśvara and Bhīma fell out sometime before 1053, more probably after 1050 as we find Sōmēśvara II given the title 'Bhīma-kari-madanivāraṇam' in a record dated 1053 A.D.

(L.R. 25, p. 135). There is a possibility of this term 'Bhīmakari' being interpreted as 'a fierce elephant' and hence a more authentic and unambiguous evidence is required. A record of A.D. 1057 (S.I.I. IX-I, 118) after enumerating the conquests of Āhavamalla over Magadha, Gauḷa, Lāḷa, Anga, Vanga, Vangāla, Varāḷa, and Māḷava states that his son Gangapermādi (Vikramāditya) vanquished the Cōḷa, Gauḷa, Barbara, Āndhra, Māḷava and the Gūrjara. Nāgadēva, the brahman general is called the Gūrjara Madaharaṇa in 1061 A.D. (L.R. 25, p. 156). It is clear that Sōmēśvara fell out with Bhima of Anhilwad earlier than with Karṇa of Dāhaḷā and hence it is quite likely that there was some quarrel between Bhīma and Karṇa first and after Bhīma's exit from the coalition the other two fell out after 1059.

It is also possible that Bhōja was not killed in action but being overwhelmed by numbers and fighting a hard battle was overtaken by some malady and thus died full of years after a glorious career of more than half a century. Sōmēśvara whose records repeatedly state that he took the head of the Cōḷa nowhere states so clearly that he killed Bhōja. All the references are ambiguous poetic expressions and hence it is likely that this great hero was, after all, not conquered on the field.

PUṆYAKṢETRA

BY

DR. B. CH. CHHABRA, OOTACAMUND.

The compound word *puṇya-kṣetra* ordinarily denotes 'a holy place' or 'a sacred spot'. Occasionally it is used as a synonym of *tīrtha*, meaning 'a place of pilgrimage'. In the Buddhist literature, on the other hand, it has quite a different significance. And it is this that we propose to consider in the present note.

There it is used mostly in a figurative sense. And as such, it occurs not in connection with a particular place or region, but is applied as an epithet to a *bhikṣu-saṅgha*, or to an individual *bhikṣu*, or to the Buddha himself. In Pāli, the contracted form of the term is *puñña-khetta*. In the Pāli Text Society's Pāli-English Dictionary it has been explained as follows: "field of merit, epithet of the Sangha or any holy personalities, doing good (lit. planting seeds of merit) to whom is a source of future compensation to the benefactor." A more lucid explanation has, however, been given by the renowned commentator Buddhaghoṣa in his *Visuddhimagga*, which we shall presently quote.

Let us first examine some of the instances where the term *puṇya-kṣetra* or *puñña-khetta* has been employed. In the famous Mahāyāna work, *Divyāvadāna*, we find it applied to Ratnaśikhin Buddha: *yasya vijite īdṛiśaṁ dvipādakaṁ puṇya-kṣetram utpannaṁ.........puṇyamaheśākhyas tvaṁ yasya vijite dvipādakaṁ puṇyakṣetraṁ Ratnaśikhī samyaksaṁbuddhaḥ.*[1] Mark the adjunct *dvipādakam* 'two-legged', 'two-footed', or say 'human'. The author seems thereby to be calling attention to the metaphorical use of the term *puṇyakṣetram*. It is found again in the same work in the following *Āryā*, descriptive of the Sthavira Mahākāśyapa:

Puṇyakṣetram udāraṁ dīnānugrāhako nirāyāsaḥ |
Sarvajñacīvaradharaḥ śāsanasaṁdhārako matimān ||[2]

1. The *Divyāvadāna*, edited by E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886, p. 63.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 395. The text given by the editors has *dīnātura-grāhako* instead of *dīnānugrāhako*. The latter, I presume, must be the correct reading, not only because *anugrāhaka* is better suited to the sense than *grāhaka*, but also because the metre is thereby set aright.

It may in passing be observed that this Mahākāśyapa was a chief disciple of Gautama Buddha who showed special favours to him. At the time of *nirvāṇa*, the Master bestowed his own *saṅghāṭī* on Mahākāśyapa who wore it ever afterwards. This is what is referred to in the verse quoted above: *Sarvajña-cīvaradharaḥ* 'he who wore the garment of Sarvajña'. This latter, it may be remembered, is a well-known name of the Buddha.[3]

The pre-eminence of Mahākāśyapa is further testified to by the existence of a stone statue of his, carved in the round, now sorely damaged, which was discovered at Silāo, near Rājagṛha which was Mahākāśyapa's home. The pedestal of the statue contains a Sanskrit inscription in which the *saṅghāṭī*-bestowal incident is clearly narrated. In my edition of this inscription I had occasion to give a fuller account of the saint's life.[4]

Reverting to the main topic, it is found that the term in question is more frequently used in Pāli. The following is said of the Buddha himself:

Buddho bhavaṁ arahati pūraḷāsaṁ
puññakkhettam anuttaraṁ
āyāgo sabbalokassa, bhoto dinnaṁ mahapphalan[5]

Speaking of the *bhikkhusaṁgha*, the Buddha says: *Tathārūpo ayaṁ, bhikkhave, bhikkhusaṁgho,......āhuneyyo pāhuneyyo dakkhiṇeyyo añjalikaraṇīyo: Anuttaraṁ puññakkhettaṁ lokassāti.*[6]

The *bhikkhusaṁgha* is more often referred to under the name of *sāvakasaṁgha*. The description is always the same as given above.[7] An individual *bhikṣu* is described in identical terms.[8] It may be noticed that *anuttara* is an

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3. *Amara*, giving the synonyms of the Buddha, starts with the name Sarvajña itself: *Sarvajñaḥ Sugato Buddho*, etc.

4. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXV, pp. 327-34.

5. The *Suttanipāta* (Pali Text Society), London, 1913, p. 86.

6. The *Majjhimanikāya* (PTS), Vol. III, London, 1889, p. 80.

7. See, for instance, the *Saṁyuttanikāya* (PTS). Pt. V, London, 1898, pp. 343, 363, 382; the *Dīghanikāya* (PTS), Vol. III, London, 1911, pp. 5, 227.

8. The *Majjhimanikāya*, Vol. I, London, 1888, p. 446; the *Aṅguttaranikāya*, (PTS), Pt. I, London. 1885, p. 244; Pt. II, London, 1888, p. 113. For additional references, see the dictionary.

invariable adjunct in these cases. It has been rendered as 'unsurpassed' in the Pali dictionary. This, as we shall presently see, has been replaced by *parama* in a Sanskrit inscription. In the description of a *bhikṣu*, called Kappitaka, we have, however, simply *puññassak khettaṁ araṇavihārī.*[9]

Let us now have the scholastic commentary on the expression under discussion. It runs as follows:

Anuttaraṁ puññakkhettaṁ lokassā ti sabbalokassa asadisaṁ puññavirūhanaṭṭhānaṁ. Yathā hi rañño vā amaccassa vā sālīnaṁ vā yavānaṁ vā virūhanaṭṭhānaṁ rañño sālikhettaṁ [rañño] yavakhettan ti vuccati, evaṁ sangho sabbalokassa puññānaṁ virūhanaṭṭhānaṁ, sanghaṁ nissāya hi lokassa nānappakārahitasukhasaṁvattanikāni puññāni virūhanti; tasmā sangho *anuttaraṁ puññakkhettaṁ lokassā* ti.[10] Which means: It is to the whole world an extraordinary field for raising a crop of merits. As a king or a minister has a field for growing paddy or barley and it is called the king's paddy-field or [the minister's] barley-field, so also is the *saṅgha* called the whole world's merit-field, because it is by having recourse to the *saṅgha* that people cultivate virtues that fructify in various benefits and happiness to the growers.

Buddhaghoṣa has explained the term as applied to the *saṅgha,* but it holds good also in its application to the Buddha or an *arhat* of his order. It may, however, be pointed out that most frequently it is the *saṅgha,* the Buddhist Monkish Order, that is so praised. In the Sanskrit inscription alluded to above we have again to do with an *Āryasaṅgha.*

The inscription occurs on a cross-bar in the massive stone railing that encircles the great *stūpa* at Sāñchī. It has been edited by Dr. J. F. Fleet.[11] Portions of the inscription have disappeared owing to the peeling off of the stone. Unfortunately the part with which we are concerned has also been damaged, though what remains of it is sufficient to allow the restoration. Fleet, however, has missed the expression. In the text given by him, we have *parama-puṇya-kṛi......tāya,* which qualified *āryya-saṅghāya.*[12] Three

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9. The *Petavatthu* (PTS), London, 1889, p. 49. v. 33.
10. The *Visuddhimagga* of Buddhaghosa (PTS), London 1920, p. 220.
11. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* Vol. III (Gupta Inscriptions), pp. 29-34, Plate III-B.
12. *Ibid.,* p. 31.

letters are missing after what he reads as *kṛi.* Mr. N. G. Majumdar, who has re-edited the inscription in *The Monuments of Sāñchī (Vol. I, pp. 388-9)*, followed Fleet in reading the text. *On comparing the illustrations* accompanying the essays of both these scholars, one may find that the syllable read by them as *kṛi* is in reality *kṣe.* This has been recognised by Dr. D. C. Sircar who has included the text of the inscription in his *Select Inscriptions* (Vol. I, pp, 273-4). He has restored the text here as *parama-puṇya-kśe[tra]-[ga] tāya..* His conjecture as to *gatāya* indicates that he was unaware of the literary references cited above. Taking those into consideration, and seeing the lacunae to be filled, I would suggest to read *bhūtāya* where Sircar has conjectured *gatāya.* We shall thus have a parallel instance, in epigraphy, of the use of the term so well known in the Buddhist literature, both Pāli and Sanskrit. The incriptional *parama-puṇya-kṣetra-bhūtāya* would be equivalent to the literary *anuttarāya puṇyakṣetrāya* (Pāli: *anuttarassa puññakkhettassa*).

KṚṢṆA III AND THE CEDIS.

BY

PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

Among the achievements of Kṛṣna III as Yuvarāja under his father Amoghavarṣa III is usually included an expedition into Northern India in which he inflicted a defeat on the Cēdis. These achievements are detailed for the first time in verses 20 to 25 of the Deoli plates of Kṛṣṇa III—A.D. 940. The Karhād plates of the same ruler issued 18 years later repeat the story in the same words as the earlier grant but introduce one new verse after No. 20 of the Deoli plates. It is upon that verse that the theory of Kṛṣṇa's invasion of the Cēdi kingdom is primarily based. That verse reads:

Rāma-hata-Sahasra-bhujo bhujadvayākalita-samada-rāmeṇa I
Janani-patnī-gururapi Yena Saharārjuno vijitaḥ II

This verse was translated by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar as follows:[1] 'He conquered Sahasrārjuna though he was an elderly relative of his mother and his wife, (Sahasrārjuna) whose thousand arms were cut off by Rāma (*i.e.* Paraśurāma) who, maddened as he was, was in his turn (*only verbally*) put down by him (*viz.*, Kṛṣṇa Rāja) by means of his two hands, he having held intoxicated young women (*rāmā*) with his two hands." He also added a note pointing it out that Bhujadvayākalita etc. is to be interpreted in two ways.

In the introduction to his edition of the Karhād plates, Sir Bhandarkar made the following remarks on the relation between the Deoli and Karhād plates over this section of the inscription. "The account in the Deoli plates ends with the coronation of Krishna III and all that he is therein represented to have done he did while he was a *Kumāra*, or Crown prince, and *Janakājñā-vaśa* i. e. acting under his father's orders, or subordinate to him. In the present grant there is one verse about him in this part, in which he is represented to have conquered Sahasrārjuna, who was an elderly relative of his mother and his wife (v. 25). Sahasrārjuna is the mythical hero to whom the Kalacuri rulers of Cedi traced their descent

1. EI. IV. p. 288.

and who in the story in the *Mahābhārata* is represented to have killed Jamadagni, the father of Paraśurāma and in revenge to have had his thousand arms cut off by the latter. Very likely the rulers of Cedi generally, or some of them at least particularly were called by the name of Saharārjuna after their mythical ancestor, and the name Arjuna does occur in the list of princes belonging to that family. The Sahasrārjuna therefore, who conquered by our Krishna must have been a ruler of Cedi or must have belonged to that family, and it is also likely that he was a relative of his mother and his wife. For Amoghavarṣa, the father of Krishna, is in the Kurda plates represented to have married Kandakadevi, the daughter of Yuvarāja, who must have been the same as the fourth prince in the list given by Prof. Kielhorn; who the particular prince conquered by Krishna III was, it is difficult to say".

These statements are followed by an inconclusive discussion of names given in inscriptions and their relation to Kielhorn's list which is now rather antiquated and need not concern us here.

This view of a conquest of Cedi by Kṛṣṇa III as Yuvarāja so tentatively put forward by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has held the field. Thus Prof. Altekar writes[1] "Krishna then marched north-wards and defeated the Cedis though his mother and wife had been born in that family". So far Altekar only summarises Bhandarkar's suggestions, but he proceeds "The forts of Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa situated in the very heart of the Candela country were occupied by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army, and the Gurjarapratīhāra emperor lost hope of capturing them". This statement appears to be based on verse 30 of the Karhad plates (25 of Deoli) which in view of the use made of it by Altekar must be reproduced here. It reads :

> Yasya paruṣekṣitā-khila-dakṣiṇa dig-durga-vijayam ākarṇya |
> Galitā Gurjara-hṛdayāt-Kālañjara-Citrakūṭāśā.||

This verse states distinctly (1) that Kṛṣṇa captured many fortresses even by his fierce look i.e. very easily in the south (2) the Gurjara ruler heard of these victories and (3) consequently lost all hope of Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa *i.e.* of capturing them for himself. It would be clear that not only

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1. *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* p. 113 See also H. C. Ray *Dynastic History of Northern India*, pp. 589-90; 760-2.

did no Rāṣṭrakūṭa army occupy the forts Kālanjara and Citrakūṭa but their victories in the South acted as a bulwark protecting these forts from falling into the hands of the Gurjara ruler who was evidently entertaining ambitions against them. Yet Prof. Altekar says in a note "It is not possible to argue that Krishna assisted his Cedi relations in holding these places against the Candela; for the Deoli plates issued in May 940 A. D. soon after the capture of Kālanjara, state that Krishna III had conquered the elders of his wife and mother. This shows that Krishna was not co-operating but fighting with the Cedis." This is a very strange note. The Deoli plates say nothing about Kṛṣṇa's conquest of the Cedis, for as we have seen the verse occurs not in the Deoli but in the Karhād plates, and there is no warrant for assuming the capture of Kālanjara by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army. The general probabilities are all against our assuming a Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion of Cedi in this period. The Cedis and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were bound by ties of close political and dynastic alliances. But Amoghavarṣa and Kṛṣṇa had spent some time in the Cedi court when the vicious reign of Govinda IV made it impossible for them to stay within the Rāṣṭrakūṭa country, and it was at Tripurī, the Cedi capital, that Amoghavarṣa gave the hand of his daughter Revakanimmaḍi, the elder sister of Kṛṣṇa III in marriage to Ganga Būtuga II (spurious Sudi plates) and for the best part of the reign of Amoghavarṣa, Kṛṣṇa was engaged in fighting in the south on behalf of his brother-in-law Būtuga II helping him to overthrow Rācamalla and seat himself firmly on the Ganga throne; and the verse we have last cited above means that the fame of these southern wars of Kṛṣṇa reached northern India and served to some extent to strengthen the political position of the Cedi rulers and other friends of Kṛṣṇa as against the enemies by whom they were surrounded, in particulars, the Gurjara Pratihāras. It seems extremely improable that Kṛṣṇa led an expedition against Cedi or had any motive for doing so.

Prof. Altekar cites the Jura *praśasti* as evidence in support of the supposed invasion of the Cedi kingdom; Dr. H. C. Ray has done likewise in his Dynastic History of of Northern India;[1] but that *praśasti* was engraved several years later, after Kṛṣṇa's wars with Cola Parāntaka I and belongs

1. I. pp. 589-90, II pp. 760-2.

to a much later stage of Kṛṣṇa's career and has nothing to do with his achievements as *Yuvarāja*.

In fact the extra verse in Karhāḍ plates is a mere fancy of the poet, a play upon words and of no historical significance whatsoever. Bhandarkar did of course recognise as we have seen the *double entendre* in the verse, but he was not sure that there was no history behind it and offered some tentative guesses. But with our fuller knowledge of Cedi history and the Cedi-Rāṣṭrakūṭa relations, we should have no hesitation in treating the interpolated verse of the Karhād plates as a mere embellishment. The word '*vijitaḥ*' in that verse should not be understood as indicating a conquest in the physical sense, but should be translated into 'excelled' or 'left behind'. The verse says that Kṛṣṇa was superior to Arjuna of the thousand arms, for the thousand arms of Arjuna were cut off by Rāma (Paraśurāma) whereas with only two arms Kṛṣṇa held within them the maddened Rāmā (rāmās lustful damsels). So Arjuna of the thousand arms though the ancestor (*guru*) of Kṛṣṇa's wife and mother was easily excelled by Kṛṣṇa. There is no history here, but only mythology and word play. It may be observed finally that a verse in the Tiruvālangāḍu plates which contains a similar word play on the names Rājarāja and Bhīma based on mythical associations intrigued scholars for a long time by its apparent reference to historical events.

A word finally about Kālañjara. The famous fortress was captured by Yaśovarman, the founder of Candela power about this time.[1] He might have done so with the aid of Cedis and his success was a blow to the Gurjaras. Any hopes that the Gurjaras might have entertained of recovering the fortress must have been blasted by the resounding success of Kṛṣṇa, the ally of the Cedis, and of the Candelas. Kṛṣṇa might himself have aided Yaśovarman in the enterprise during the period of his stay at Tripurī in the reign of Govinda IV.

1. Ray: DHNI. p. 674.

ALLAHABAD PILLAR INSCRIPTION VERSES 3 & 8

BY

DR. V. RAGHAVAN

Recently, in the course of his fresh study of the texts of the Gupta Inscriptions for the purpose of their Hindi translation, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra referred some of the verses in these inscriptions to me for scrutinising them more intensely from the literary point of view and for bringing out, thereby, the full implications of the figures in them.[1] Two of these are verses 3 and 8 of the well-known Allahabad Pillar Inscription composed by Hariṣeṇa. Verse 3 reads thus according to Fleet:

यस्य प्रज्ञानुषङ्गोचितसुखमनसः शास्त्रतत्त्वार्थभर्तुः
-- स्तब्धो . - - . नि . . . . - - नोच्छ् - . - - ।
सत्काव्यश्रीविरोधान् बुधगुणितगुणाज्ञाहतानेव कृत्वा
विद्वल्लोके वि - - स्फुटबहुकविताकीर्तिराज्यं भुनक्ति ॥

And the following is Fleet's translation of the verse:

"Whose happy mind was accustomed to associate with learned people;—who was the supporter of the real truth of the scriptures;......................firmly fixed.....................;—who, having overwhelmed, with the (*force of the*) commands of the collective merits of (*his*) learned men, those things which obstruct the beauty of excellent poetry, (*still*) enjoys, in the world of the wise, the sovereignty of the fame (*produced*) by much poetry,.........and clear meaning; —"

Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 6, 11.

The meaning of the verse is not brought out clearly or correctly, the figure in it having been entirely missed. The subject is not the king himself but his Poesy,—Spuṭa-bahu-kavitā which is to be separated from kīrti-rājyam. "Spuṭa-bahu-kavitā kirti-rājyam bhunakti" is the vākya. Similarly, in line 3, the reading 'sat-kāvya-śrī- virodhān' is to be corrected into 'sat-kāvya-śrīḥ virodhān'. The verse is devoted specially to praise the king's learning and literary attainments and while the former part qualifies the king in the genetive case,—

[1] For a fruitful re-examination of this kind by Dr. Chhabra himself, see Indian Culture, XIV. 4, pp. 141-150, where he discusses the oft-quoted verse 4 of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription.

'yasya',—the latter goes with the king's well-known and prolific Poesy,—'sphuṭa-bahu-kavitā'—in the nominative. This Poesy is described here in the imagery of a king. Line 2 is beyond restoration and lines 1, 3 and 4 are to be interpreted thus:

Line 1: 'prajñā-anuṣaṅga-ucita-sukha-manasaḥ—While the minds of other kings would find delight in addiction to vyasanas like strī, madya, mṛgayā, Samudragupta found his mind's delight in intellectual preoccupation, prajñā-anuṣaṅga. Prajñā is the lady with whom he delighted.

'Śāstra-tattva-artha-bhartuḥ'—While other kings prided on their being masters of soldiers, this king protected the truths of śāstras; the śāstras were his army. Compare Kālidāsa, Raghuvaṁśa I. 19 - सेनापरिच्छदस्तस्य द्वयमेवार्थसाधनम् । शास्त्रेष्वकुण्ठिता बुद्धिः—॥

Both these viśeṣaṇas go with 'yasya' referring to Samudragupta.

Line 3: The ideas in this line go with the subject, viz., the poesy of the king,—sphuṭa-bahu-kavitā, itself described as a king. 'Sat-kāvya-śrīḥ'—the treasury or wealth of this king of poesy consisted of excellent poetical works.

'Virodhān budha-guṇita-guṇa-ājñā-hatān eva kṛtvā'—A king has enemies (*virodha*) to be overcome and similarly, the king of poesy has to overcome the *virodhas*, viz., literary flaws, kāvyadoṣas.[2] While the king's enemies would be killed (*hata*) by the command of the king (*ājñā*) in the form of the six *guṇas* of polity (*ṣāḍguṇya*) advocated by his wise counsellors (*budhas*), the literary flaws would be removed by the king of poesy by the observance of the rules (*ājñā*) for the employment of literary excellences (*guṇas* of kāvya, śleṣa, prasāda, etc.,) which have been enumerated by the learned critics (*budha-guṇita*).

Line 4: "Vidval-loke"—The world in which the king of poesy had sway is the world of scholars. 'vi......' that follows is evidently '*vi-śāle*'—'in the wide world of scholars'.

'Kīrti-rājyaṁ bhunakti'—The exact nature and substance of the rule enjoyed by this king of poesy was 'fame'. '*kīrti-rājya*'—'the kingdom of fame'.

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[2] Virodha in the sense of Doṣa in Kāvya is a common expression in Alaṁkāra works; see especially Daṇḍin, Kāvyādarśa III. 179. विरोधस्सकलोऽप्येष etc.

I may now offer the following translation:—"Of him whose mind found its proper delight in giving itself up to the lady of Intellect and who was the master of (the soldiers called) the truths of śāstras, the celebrated and prolific Poesy (of that king), having excellent literary productions as its treasury, having removed literary flaws by (following) the rules of the literary excellences enumerated by the learned (critics) (having destroyed all opposition by the command of the six guṇas of statecraft advocated by the wise counsellors), enjoys the kingdom of fame in the 'wide' world of scholars."

In verse 8 of the same inscription 'Dharmaprācīra etc.', Dr. Chhabra himself has made two excellent corrections, '*bandhāh*' (plural) in 'dharma-prācīra-*bandhaḥ*' at the opening of the verse and '*guṇa iti* viduṣām' in '*guṇa-mati*-viduṣām' in the last line.[3] Fleet's translation of the verse runs thus:

(*Of whom it used to be said*),—"the building of the pale of religion; fame as white as the rays of the Moon, (*and*) spreading far and wide; wisdom that pierced the essential nature of things;.........................calmness...................; the path of sacred hymns, that is worthy to be studied; and even poetry, which gives free vent to the power of the mind of poets; (*all these are his*), (*in short*) what (*virtue*) is there that does not belong to him, who alone is a worthy subject of contemplation for those who can recognise merit and intellect?;"—

Here again the translation does not convey the meaning correctly. The whole first line gives only one quality, (*guṇa*), of the king, *viz.*, his fame (*kīrtayaḥ*), which is far spread (*sapratānāḥ*), and pure like the rays of the moon (*śaśi-kara-śucayaḥ*). The poet describes this fame in the imagery of creepers which too have far-reaching tendrils, sapratānāh.[4] The speciality of Samudragupta's fame is that it is pure (*śucī*), because he was a *Dharmavijayī* and the display of his prowess did not exceed the bounds of Dharma; thus the creepers of his fame did not have a wild growth, but kept themselves well within the fence of Dharma (dharma-prācīra-

3. See his above mentioned article in Indian Culture.
4. See Raghuvaṃsa II. 8. Amarakośa. II. 4. 9.

bandhāḥ)[1]. Compare Kālidāsa, Raghuvamśa, I. 25: अभ्यर्थकामौ तस्यास्तां धर्म एव मनीषिणः ।

The king's scholarship was such that it pierced the truth of things and śāstras (vaiduṣyam tattvabhedi). The further portion of the line is damaged.

'adheyaḥ sūkta-mārgaḥ'—Sūkta here is not sacred hymns (vedas); it is subhāṣita, the excellent utterences of poets. The king was engrossed in the study of belles lettres. And himself an eminent man of letters, he produced literature that threw into shade the best gifts of other poets (*kavi-mati-vibhava-utsāraṇam-cāpi kāvyam*).

The learned ponder in wonder over this one man in whom there is not one endowment which is not present (*ko nu syād yo'sya na syād guṇa iti viduṣām dhyāna-pātram ya eva*).

I may offer the following translation now: "'Wide spread fame, pure as the rays of the moon and having the fence of Dharma, piercing scholarship that comprehends the truth (of things and śāstras); ....study of belles lettres; and poesy which throws into shade the genius of (other) poets;—what excellence is there which is not in this king'; he who is the one person who is (thus) contemplated upon by the learned."

1. Amara II. 2·3: the NS. Press edn. with Bhānuji's gloss reads Prācīna, but the Śabdakalpadruma reads Prācīra.

BOOK REVIEW

The Bhagavad Gītā, with an Introductory Essay, Sanskrit Text, English Translation and Notes, by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. 10 S. 6d net. Indian edn. 7 S. 6d net.

It is mentioned in the colophon at the end of every chapter of the Gītā that it is a Yoga Śāstra. Hence it is not a Dharma Śāstra. Further, the colophon states that it is an Upaniṣad and a Brahma Vidyā. These three phrases express succinctly the true nature of the contents and teaching of the Gītā. As such, it has come to occupy an equal place with the Brahma Sūtras and the Daśa Upaniṣads as an authority on Indian philosophy and religion, the three being known as the Prasthāna Traya. At the same time it is a popular poem and an every man's scripture It is the combination of all these characteristics that has given to the Gītā a world-wide appeal. At the present day, it has gone even beyond the proportions of a Hindu scripture and attained the dimensions of a world scripture influencing the minds of the intelligentsia of every nation. Hence in the West, the Gītā has been translated into many European languages and there are many editions of it with introduction and notes, the latest being those of Dr. Rudolf Otto, Hill, Swami Prabhavananda and Christopher Isherwood with Introduction of Aldous Huxley, and Professor Edgerton. Dr. Radhakrishnan is an eminent philosopher of world-wide reputation and a great interpreter of Hindu religious life and thought to the modern mind. His book will therefore be welcomed by the Gītā-reading public as a valuable contribution to Gītā literature. He has written a very thought-provoking introduction and has added trenchant and suggestive commentaries on every verse of the Gītā. The text is printed in the Roman alphabet with a view to its being read by a very large number in Europe and America. He intends this work "for the general reader who wishes to enlarge his spiritual environment rather than for the specialist." He envisages the teaching of the Gītā not as representing any sect of Hinduism, not even Hinduism as a whole but religion as such in its universality, without limit of time or space. It is with this object and attitude of mind that he has approached the Gītā and given his edition to the public. He has enriched

his book with apt quotations from Greek, Roman and Christian thinkers and mystics, thus revealing a marked similarity of thought and expression between them and the Gītā. Even in regard to the four-fold order of Hindu society mentioned in Verse 41 of Chapter 18, he makes an apt quotation from a modern author, Mr. Gerald Heard, from his book on 'Man the Master' wherein he emphasises a quadri-type organisation of society and observes that there have always been present in human community four types or strata of consciousness and that the sociological thought which first defined and named this four-fold structure of society is as much European as Indian.

Even the form of the poem as a Saṃvāda or dialogue between Kṛṣṇa, the Teacher, and Arjuna, the Pupil, can in his opinion be lifted from its local colouring and viewed as symbolic of the communion between the struggling soul and man's higher self, and the Battle of Kurukṣetra is as much within his body as outside. The modern mind can very well view the historical events connected with the origin of the poem from this perspective. For, he says. "The essential thing is truth or significance and historical fact is nothing more than the image of it". Even as regards the theory of Avatār upon which the Gītā is based, he points out that the westerner can well afford to believe it as "it is only an eloquent expression of the law of the spiritual world." He points out that one need not confine his belief to the only unique revelation. "If God is looked upon as the saviour of man, he must manifest himself whenever the forces of evil threaten to destroy human values."

In my opinion, the special value of Dr. Radhakrishnan's book consists in his interpretation of the teaching of the Gītā in its relation to modern thought and society. He firmly believes that "a re-statement of the truths of eternity in the accents of our time is the only way in which a great scripture can be of living value to mankind."

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AIYAR.

OBITUARY

It is with great grief that we have to record here the premature passing away of one of our esteemed Life Members, Mr. Justice V. Govindarajachari, on 2-10-48. He was only 52 and had only been recently elevated to the Bench of the Madras High Court. He had gained the respect of all, both as an Advocate and as a Judge. Devout and cultured, he was an ardent supporter of the cause of Sanskrit learning.

THE JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH, MADRAS

Like the previous volumes of this Journal, the present part also shows the well known standard of Hindu Indology. ....We are grateful for the rich contents of this Journal.

—WALTER RUBEN in *Oriens*, VOL. 1. No. 1.

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VEDIC STUDIES: III. *GOTRAM*

BY

DR. A. VENKATASUBBIAH

(Continued from Vol. XV, page 63)

Gotra neuter, is used fairly frequently in classical Sanskrit literature; so likewise are *gotra*, masculine and *gotrā*, feminine. Regarding their meaning, Bhānujī-dīkṣita has cited in his commentary (known as *Rāmāśramī* or *Sudhā*) on the Amarakośa (2. 3, 1; 2, 7, 1 and 3, 3, 180) the following two verses: *gotraṃ kṣetre 'nvaye chatre sambhāvye bodha-vartmanoḥ| vane nāmni ca gotro 'drau gotrā bhuvi gavāṃ gaṇe* and *gotrā bhū-gavyayor gotraḥ śaile gotraṃ kulākhyayoḥ| sambhāvanīya-bodhe ca kānana-kṣetravartmasu* from *Haimakośa* and *Medinīkośa* respectively; and according to them, *gotra* (neuter) signifies 'field; family, race, lineage; umbrella; knowledge of futurity; road; forest; name, appellation', *gotra* (masculine) 'mountain', and *gotrā* (feminine)' 'herd of cows; earth'.

The Vedic Nighaṇṭu mentions *gotra* masculine and *gotrā* feminine only, the former among the synonyms of 'cloud' or 'mountain' (1, 10), and the latter, among the synonyms of 'earth' (1, 1). The latter word however does not occur in any passage of the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas that have come down to us, and this seems to be the case with the former word also.

There are, in the RV, fourteen verses which contain inflected forms of *gotra*, beside three in which the compound *gotrabhid* occurs. Eight out of these fourteen verses contain the word *gotrāṇi* or *gotrā*, accusative plural of *gotra* neuter; the remaining six verses contain the word *gotram* (accusative) or *gotrasya* which forms, too, like *gotra* in the compound *gotrabhid*, can be derived from *gotra* neuter. In the same way, the forms of *gotra* that occur in the other Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas too, namely, *gotram* (acc.), *gotrā* (acc. pl.), *gotrāya* and *gotrāt*, can all be derived from *gotra* neuter.

As the statements in the Nighaṇṭu are concerned with *gotrā* feminine and *gotra* masculine, it is hardly necessary to point out that they are not helpful in the interpretation of the

forms of *gotra* neuter that occur in the passages of the RV and other Vedic texts. Further, since none of these passages happens to be cited in the Nirukta, neither Yāska nor his commentator Durga has had any occasion for explaining the meaning of *gotra* neuter.

In his commentary on the RV, Sāyaṇa gives three etymologies for *gotra*—(1) *gun avyakte śabde| auṇādikaḥ tra-pratyayaḥ* (2) '*khala-go-rathat*' (Pāṇini 4, 2, 50); '*ini-tra-katyacaś ca*' (ibid., 4, 2, 51) *iti samūhārthe trapratyayaḥ*; and (3) *gāḥ trāyante rakṣantīti gotrā meghān*; he explains the word mostly as *megha* 'cloud', *parvata* 'mountain', or *gavāṃ vṛnda* 'herd of cows', but, in one passage (8, 63, 5), he explains *gotrasya* as *dhanasya*. Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara, in his commentary on TB. 3, 7, 11, 5, explains *gotrā* as *meghān*; so do Skandasvāmin, Mādhava and Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava in their commentaries on RV. 1, 51, 3, while Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara, in their commentaries on VS. 17, 39 (= RV. 10, 103, 7), explain *gotrāṇi* as *asura-kulāni megha-vṛndāni vā*.[1]

In connection with these interpretations, it must be mentioned that the word formed according to the above-mentioned sūtras of Pāṇini by adding the suffix *-tra* to the word *go* is the feminine word *gotrā*, and that it is this *gotrā* that has the sense of *go-samūha* while it is the masculine word *gotra* that is mentioned in the Nighaṇṭu among the *megha-nāmāni*. Sāyaṇa has thus assigned to *gotra* neuter the meaning of not only *gotra* masculine—this is what the other commentators named above have done—, but of *gotrā* feminine also.

Sāyaṇa's interpretations did not find favour with Böhtlingk and Roth who, influenced perhaps by his etymology *gāḥ trāyante rakṣantīti gotrā meghān*, have, in the PW, explained *gotra*, occurring in RV. 1, 51, 3 and other passages, as 'cow-stall, stable'. This explanation has been adopted by Grassmann, Ludwig, Bergaigne, and other exegetists generally. But, in Ved. St. 2, p. 275, Geldner has not only observed that "*gotra* never signifies 'cowstall, stable' (PW)", but has also endeavoured to show, in conformity with the principles enunciated in the *Introd.* to Ved. St., Vol. 1, that Sāyaṇa's interpretation is correct, that *gotra* signifies '(1) herd of cows, and (2) *gotra-giri* or mountain imprisoning the cows'. In the *RV*.

[1] That is to say, they interpret *gotra* as *kula*, and in the alternative, as *megha*.

Glossar, he explains *gotra* as '(1) herd of cows, cows 3, 30, 21; 8, 63, 5; 10, 48, 2; (2) in particular, the mythical herd confined in the mountain-cave 3, 43, 7; 39, 4; 2. 23, 18. Hence, by metonymy, (3) herd of cows, for the mountain-cave of the Paṇis, pl. 4, 16, 8'. Similarly, in his *RV. Übcr.*, he explains *gotra* as 'Kuhhöhle (cave containing cows)' in 4, 16, 8 and as 'herd of cows' in the other verses of Maṇḍalas I-IV.

I agree with Geldner that *gotra* does not signify 'cow-stall, stable'. I also agree with him in believing that it signifies 'mountain'; that is to say, I believe that the neuter *gotra* used in the RV is the same word as the masculine *gotra* of later Sanskrit literature.[2] That it is the same as the feminine *gotrā* ('herd of cows') also, is an opinion that I cannot accept; this meaning is, in fact, superfluous, for, as I shall now show, the meaning 'mountain' suits the context well in all the RV passages in which *gotra* occurs, excepting 2, 23, 18, in which it signifies *kula*.

(1) 1, 51, 3: tvaṃ gotram aṅgirobhyo 'vṛṇor apo-
tātraye śatadureṣu gātuvit |
sasena cid vimadāyāvaho vasv
ājāv adriṃ vāvasānasya nartayan ||

"Thou, O Indra, didst open the mountain for the Aṅgirases, and find the path for Atri in the citadel of a hundred openings. Making thy thunderbolt dance in Vavasāna's fight, thou didst bring wealth and food also to Vimada".

The 'mountain' mentioned in pāda *a* is the rock or mountain which imprisoned the mythical cows, that is, the rock or mountain that covered the entrance to the hole in the earth into which the cows were driven and which prevented them from coming out; compare TMBr. 19, 7, 1: asurāṇāṃ vai valas tamasā prāvṛto 'śmāpidhānas' cāsīt | tasmin gavyaṃ vasv antar āsīt | taṃ devā nāśaknuvan bhettum | te bṛhaspatim abruvan | imān na utsṛjeti. "The hole of the Asuras was enveloped with darkness and closed with a stone. Within it was the wealth of cattle. The gods could not break it open. They said to Bṛhaspati, 'Deliver these for us.'" This prison of the cows is referred to variously by the RV poets by words

[2] Regarding the change in gender, compare *mitraḥ* 'friend' of the Vedas with *mitram* 'friend' of later Sanskrit literature.

signifying (1) 'cow-pen'—*vraja* (cf. 1, 132, 4: *yad aṅgirobhyo 'vṛṇor apa vrajam indra śikṣann apa vrajam*); (2) 'fortress, stronghold, citadel' - *vīḷu* (cf. 3, 31, 5: *vīḷau satīr abhi dhīrā atṛndan prācā hinvan manasā sapta viprāḥ*), *pur* (cf, 8, 6, 23: *ā na indra mahīm iṣam puram na darṣi gomatīm*), *dṛḷha* (cf. 6, 17, 5: *yebhiḥ sūryam uṣasam mandasāno 'vāsayo 'pa dṛḷhāni dardrat*), *dṛṃhita* (cf. 2, 15, 8: *bhinad valam aṅgirobhir gṛṇāno vi parvatasya dṛṃhitāny airat*); (3) 'earth' - *kṣāmā* (cf. 4, 2, 16: *śucid ayan dīdhitim ukthaśāsaḥ kṣāmā bhindanto aruṇīr apa vran*); (4) 'mountain, rock' - *adri* (cf. 4, 3, 11: *ṛtenādrim vy asan bhidantaḥ sam aṅgiraso navanta gobhiḥ*), *aśman* (cf. 6, 43, 3: *yasya gā antar aśmano made dṛḷhā avāsṛjaḥ*), *giri* (cf. 10, 86, 7: *bibheda girim navam in na kumbham ā gā indro akṛṇuta svayugbhiḥ*), *parvata* (cf. 10, 68, 3: *bṛhaspatiḥ parvatebhyo vitūryā nir gā ūpe yavam iva sthivibhyaḥ*), *phaliga* (cf. 8, 32, 25: *ya udnaḥ phaligam bhinan nyak sindhūṅr avāsṛjat | yo goṣu pakvam dhārayat*), *gotra*; and (5) 'hole, cave, cavity - *ūrva* (cf. 4, 17, 6: *ud ūrvād gā asṛjo aṅgirasvān*), *bila* (cf. 1, 11, 5: *tvam valasya gomato 'pā var adrivo bilam*), *vala* (cf. 10, 138, 1: *tava tya indra sakhyeṣu vahnaya ṛtam manvānā vy adardirur valam*), and *vavra* (cf. 4, 1, 13: *aśmavrajāḥ sudughā vavre antar ud usrā ājann uṣaso huvānāḥ*). The verbs used in connection with the delivery from this prison are those meaning (1) 'to open' - *apa+vṛ*; (2) 'to break, rend, shatter' - *īr, tṛd, dṛ, bhid, ruj, bhaj*, (3) 'to deliver'—*sṛj*, and (4) 'to unloose'—*vi+si*.

The cows confined in this prison were, as we have seen above (XIV. 151 pp.) set free by Indra, the Aṅgirases, Bṛhaspati, Soma, Saramā, Agni, the All-gods, etc. In our verse, the poet attributes the liberation to Indra, and for the benefit of the Aṅgirases; compare in this connection 1, 132, 4: *nū itthā te pūrvathā ca pravācyam yad aṅgirobhyo 'vṛṇor apa vrajam indra śikṣann apa vrajam* 'O Indra, it deserves to be praised

now, as in former times, that thou didst open the cow-stall for the Aṅgirases, that thou didst open the cow-stall, helping (them)', and 8, 14, 8: *úd gā́ ājad áṅgirobhya āviṣkṛṇván gúhā satī́ḥ | arvā́ñcaṃ nunude valám* 'He (Indra) drove out, for the Aṅgirases, the cows that had been hidden, revealing them; he pushed off Vala that was facing towards', and note that the words *vraja* and *vala* in these verses correspond to *gotra* in our verse. Compare also Macdonell's *Ved. Myth.*, p. 142 and the verses referred to therein.

The story referred to in pāda *b* seems to be unknown. In the explanation of this pāda, Skandasvāmin writes in his RV. commentary: *atretihāsam ācakṣate | Atrim asurā śata-mohana-dvāreṣu yajña-gṛheṣu prākṣipan | tatra mūḍho nirgantum aśaknuvann Indram astaut | tam Indro niragamayad iti*, but gives immediately thereafter another explanation of *śataduresu* according to which it denotes 'Soma sacrifice' *athavā śataduraḥ soma-yāgā ucyante | teṣu prāgvaṃśa-sado-havirdhāna-sambandhīni bahūni dvārāṇi*). Sāyaṇa explains the pāda as *uta api ca Atraye maharṣaye | kīdṛśāya | śataduresu śatadvāreṣu yantreṣu asuraiḥ pīḍārthaṃ prakṣiptāya gātuvit mārgasya lambhayitā bhūḥ.*[3]

I follow Skandasvāmin's first explanation and supply (as does Geldner in his *RV. Über.*) *gṛheṣu* after *śataduresu*. *śataduresu gṛheṣu* = house with a hundred openings, that is, a citadel within a maze. Indra's protection of Atri is referred to in 8, 36, 7 also: *śyāvā́śvasya sunvatás táthā śṛṇu yáthā́ śṛṇor átreḥ kármāṇi kṛṇvatáḥ* 'Listen, (O Indra) to Śyāvāśva who is pressing the Soma juice (for thee) in the same way as thou didst to Atri when he performed acts'.

In pāda *d*, *vāvasā́na* (according to the Padakāra, *vavasā́na*) has been interpreted differently as 'shooter' (Grassmann), 'offerer of sacrifice' (Ludwig), 'he who lives' (Sāyaṇa, Mādhava, Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava, and Geldner in *RV. Über.*), and 'he (Indra) who covers (all) with his might' (Skandasvāmin). For my part, I think that *Vavasāna* (or

[3] The explanations of Mādhava and Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava are similar to that of Sāyaṇa.

perhaps, *Vāvasāna*) is the name of a person, like *yama* in 1, 116, 2: *ājā yamasya pradhane jigāya* and *khela* in 1, 116, 3: *ājā khelasya paritakmyayām. nartayan* 'causing to dance'= making it move quickly.

(2) 2, 17, 1: tad asmai navyam aṅgirasvad arcata
śuṣmā yad asya pratnathodīrate |
viśvā yad gotrā sahasā parīvṛtā
made somasya dṛṃhitāny airayat ||

"Sing like the Aṅgirases a new hymn to this (Indra) so that his shouts may rise as in the past when, in the intoxication caused by Soma, he, in a moment, shattered the solid mountains and (set free) all that had been confined".

(3) 3, 30, 21: ā no gotrā dardṛhi gopate gāḥ
sam asmabhyaṃ sanayo yantu vājāḥ |
divakṣā asi vṛṣabha satyaśuṣmo
'smabhyaṃ su maghavan bodhi godāḥ ||

"Break open mountains as well as cows for us, O lord of cows; may gains and wealth come to us. Thou, O strong one, art an inhabitant of heaven, of real valour; give cows to us, O liberal one".

This verse is addressed to Indra; and the prayer to break open mountains and set free the cows is a reminiscence of Indra's original exploit in which he rent the mountains and set free the imprisoned cows for the benefit of the Aṅgirases.

(4) 3, 39, 4: nakir eṣāṃ ninditā martyeṣu
ye asmākaṃ pitaro goṣu yodhāḥ |
indra eṣāṃ dṛṃhitā māhināvān
ud gotrāṇi sasṛje daṃsanāvān ||

"None among the mortals blames our fathers who became fighters for the sake of the cows. For them, the mighty and powerful Indra delivered the solid mountains".

The 'fathers', *pitaraḥ*, are the Aṅgirases. Regarding the combination *gotrāṇi ut-sasṛje*, compare *vrajam nissṛjanta* in 10, 62, 7: *indreṇa yujā niḥ sṛjanta vāghato vrajaṃ gomantam*

aśvinam 'With Indra as companion, the priests delivered the stable containing cows and horses'. Compare also 5, 32, 1: *adardar utsam asṛjo vi khāni* 'Thou didst break open the spring and deliver the holes'.

(5) 3, 43, 7: indra piba vṛṣadhūtasya vṛṣṇa
ā yaṃ te śyena uśate jabhāra |
yasya made cyāvayasi pra kṛṣṭīr
yasya made apa gotrā vavartha ||

"Drink, Indra, of the excellent (Soma) which has been pressed by excellent priests, which the falcon brought for thee who wert longing (for it), and in the intoxication caused by which, thou makest the people quake and hast opened the mountains".

(6) 4, 16, 8: apo yad adriṃ puruhūta dardar
āvir bhuvat saramā pūrvyaṃ te |
sa no netā vājam ā darṣi bhūriṃ
gotrā rujann aṅgirobhir gṛṇānaḥ ||

"When, O thou that art much invoked, thou rentest the mountain and the Waters, Saramā appeared first before thee (and said): "Thou, our leader, singing with the Aṅgirases and shattering the mountains, cuttest open (*i.e.*, makest attainable) much wealth".

This verse is addressed to Indra; and pādas *c d* seem to be spoken to him by Saramā. *Vājam*, in *d*, refers to the cows, contained in the mountain; see the observations under no. 18 on p. XIV 24 above. Compare also 8, 64, 5: *tyaṃ cit parvataṃ giriṃ śatavantaṃ sahasriṇam* | *vi stotṛbhyo rurojitha* 'Thou, (O Indra,) brokest open for the benefit of thy praisers the rugged mountain containing hundredfold and thousandfold wealth'.

Geldner (RV. Über.) looks on pādas *c d* as a prayer (expressed in words referring to the ancient myth, and) addressed by the poet to Indra for conferring wealth; he interprets the words *aṅgirobhir gṛṇānaḥ* as 'being praised by the Aṅgirases'.

(7) 9, 86, 23: adribhiḥ sutaḥ pavase pavitra ān
indav indrasya jaṭhareṣv āviśan |

tvaṃ nṛcakṣā abhavo vicakṣaṇa
soma gotram aṅgirobhyo 'vṛṇor apa ||

"Pressed by the stones, thou art filtered in the strainer, O bright Soma, and enterest into the stomach of Indra. Thou, O wise one, observedest all men, and openedest the mountain for the Aṅgirases".

With regard to Soma's breaking open of the mountain-prison of the cows, see p. XIV 219 above.

(8) 10, 103, 7: abhi gotrāṇi sahasā gāhamāno
'dayo vīraḥ śatamanyur indraḥ |
duścyavanaḥ pṛtanāṣāḷ ayudhyo
'smākaṃ senā avatu pra yutsu ||

"May Indra aid our armies in battles, the valiant one, who has a hundred spells, is without compunction and pierces the mountain in a moment, who cannot be shaken, who conquers in battles and cannot be fought with".

(9) 10, 48, 2: ahaṃ indro rodho vakṣo atharvaṇas
tritāya gā ajanayam aher adhi |
ahaṃ dasyubhyaḥ pari nṛmṇam ā dade
gotrā śikṣan dadhīce mātariśvane ||

"I am Indra, the dam and breast of Atharvan; I produced the cows for Trita from the serpent; I took away courage from the Dasyus, helping Dadhyañ and Mātariśvan in (breaking open) the mountains".

The meaning of the expression *rodho vakṣo atharvaṇaḥ* in pāda *a* is not clear. Dadhyañ's breaking open of the mountains is referred to in 9, 108, 4: *yenā navagvo dadhyaññ aporṇute*; and the juxtaposition of the word *navagva* in this verse shows that the mountains referred to are those that imprisoned the cows.

(10) 8, 50, 10: yathā kaṇve maghavan medhe adhvare
dīrghanīthe damūnasi |
yathā gośarye asiṣāso adrivo
mayi gotraṃ hariśriyam ||

"As, O liberal (Indra), thou gavest to Kaṇva in the holy domestic sacrifice of long ritual, as thou gavest to Gośarya, O thou with the thunderbolt, (in the same way, give) to me the mountain adorned with bright (gold)".

The epithet *hariśriyam*, in *d*, seems to show that *gotra* is masculine; this word, as we have seen above, can signify 'mountain' only. It seems to me however that, in this verse too, *gotram* is neuter, as it is in the other RV verses, and that *hariśriyam* is an anomalous neuter accusative. In any case, there is no doubt that *gotram* means 'mountain'. As in 3, 30, 21 explained above, the poet uses *gotra* here figuratively in the sense of 'wealth'. Compare the corresponding hemistich (verse 10 *c d*: *yathā gośarye asanor ṛjiśvanīndra gomad dhiraṇyavat*) in the hymn 8, 49 which is a parallel to our hymn 8, 50 (see Aufrecht's Introd. to his second edition of the RV, pp. VII and IX). *hariśriyam* in *d* is plainly equivalent to *hiraṇyavat* in 8, 49, 10 *d*.

(11) 8, 63, 5: ād ū nu te anu kratuṃ
svāhā varasya yajyavaḥ |
śvātram arkā anūṣate
ndra gotrasya dāvane ||

"Then, according to thy wish, the sacrificers and singers cried out loudly *svāhā*, O Indra, for the gift of the desirable mountain".

Here too, as explained by Sāyaṇa, *gotra* is used figuratively in the sense of 'wealth'.

(12) 10, 120, 8: imā brahma bṛhaddivo vivaktī-
ndrāya śūṣam agriyaḥ svarṣāḥ |
maho gotrasya kṣayati svarājo
duraś ca viśvā avṛṇod apa svāḥ ||

"These loud hymns Bṛhaddiva sings for Indra; he, the foremost, winner of light, is the master of the self-shining mountain and has opened all the dear doors".

The import of the second half-verse is not clear. *Gotra* can signify Indra's Vajra also; see VVSt. 1, p. 37.

(13) 6, 65, 5: idā hi ta uṣo adrisāno
gotrā gavām aṅgiraso gṛṇanti |

vy arkeṇa bibhidur brahmaṇā ca
satyā nṛṇām abhavad devahūtiḥ ||

"Here, O Uṣas resting on the ridge of the mountain, the Aṅgirases have chanted to the mountains of (*i.e*,, containing) cows: they have, by means of a spell, of a magic formula, split them open. The men's invocation to the gods has borne fruit".

See no. 38, XIV. p. 232 above.

(14) *2, 23,* 18: tava śriye vy ajihīta parvato
gavāṃ gotram udasṛjo yad aṅgiraḥ |
indreṇa yujā tamasā parīvṛtaṃ
bṛhaspate nir apām aubjo arṇavam ||

"The mountain opened before thy glory, O Aṅgiras, when thou deliveredest the herd of cows. With Indra as companion, O Bṛhaspati, thou didst set free the flood of the Waters confined in the dark (hole)".

This verse is addressed to Bṛhaspati. Regarding the epithet of *aṅgiras* applied to him in pāda *b*, see the observations in XIV. p. 220 above. *gavāṃ gotram* is equivalent to *gavāṃ kulam* or 'herd of cows'. In the alternative, it is possible to interpret *gotra* as 'mountain'; but, in this case, the use of the word *parvata* in pāda *a* will have to be regarded as pleonastic.

(15) 2, 23, 3: ā vibādhyā parirāpas tamāṃsi ca
jyotiṣmantaṃ ratham ṛtasya tiṣṭhasi |
bṛhaspate bhīmam amitradambhanaṃ
rakṣohaṇaṃ gotrabhidaṃ svarvidam ||

"Driving away the evaders and darkness, thou, O Bṛhaspati, ascendest the chariot of truth, that is brilliant, terrible, that injures enemies, destroys demons, shatters mountains, and wins the sun".

See no. 27, XIV. p. 221 above.

(16) 6, 17, 2: sa īṃ pāhi ya ṛjīṣī tarutro
yaḥ śipravān vṛṣabho yo matīnām |
yo gotrabhid vajrabhṛd yo hariṣṭhāḥ
sa indra citrān abhi tṛndhi vājān ||

"Drink, O thou that drinkest Soma to the dregs, that art conquering, hast moustaches, and art a bull to the songs of

praise. Pierce (open and make attainable to us) **resplendent** wealth, O Indra that shatterest mountains, carriest the thunderbolt and art borne by bay horses".

vṛṣabho matīnām 'bull to the songs of praise', in pāda *b*, is a contraction for *matīnāṃ pretā vṛṣabha iva dhenūnām* 'lover of songs of praise as a bull is of cows', or other similar words; compare 4, 41, 5: *dhiyaḥ pretārā vṛṣabheva dhenoḥ*. See also Bergaigne, II, 445, 485.

(17) 10, 103, 6: gotrabhidaṃ govidaṃ vajrabāhuṃ
jayantam ajma pramṛṇantaṃ ojasā |
imaṃ sajātā anu vīrayadhvam
indraṃ sakhāyo anu saṃ rabhadhvam ||

"O friends that are born together, encourage and hold fast to this Indra who shatters the mountains, wins cows, carries the thunderbolt, wins battles, and smashes with his might".

The 'friends that are born together' are the Maruts who are mentioned by that name in the next two verses of the same hymn.

(18) TB. 3, 7, 11, 5 (=TA. 4, 5, 6; 4, 42, 5):
ābhir gīrbhir yad ato na ūnam
ā pyāyaya harivo vardhamānaḥ |
yadā stotṛbhyo mahi gotrā rujāsi
bhūyiṣṭhabhājo adha te syāma ||

"O thou with bay horses, waxing in strength by means of these songs, cause to swell (*i.e.*, make up) what is deficient in this our (sacrifice). When thou breakest open great mountains for your praisers, may we then have the largest share (of the wealth contained in them)".

(19) TA. 2, 6, 2: ā rabhethām anu saṅ rabhethān
samānaṃ panthām avatho ghṛtena |
yad vāṃ pūrtaṃ pariviṣṭaṃ yad agnau
tasmai gotrāyeha jāyāpatī saṅ
rabhethām ||

"Begin (sacrificial rites), hold fast to them; proceed in the common path with ghee. Be zealous, O husband and wife,

in watching over the *smārta* (domestic) offering that has been offered in the fire".

This mantra is one of the sixty-four that are contained in *anuvākas* 2-6 of TA. 2, and are prescribed by TA. 2, 7 for use when making oblations of ghee in the rite known as *Kūśmāṇḍa-homa.* It occurs with some variations as v. 3 of AV. 6, 122 which reads as *anvārabhethām anusaṃrabhethām etaṃ lokaṃ śraddadhānāḥ sacante* | *yad vāṃ pakvaṃ pariviṣṭam agnau tasya guptaye dampatī saṃ śrayethām* and as v. 7 of AV. 12, 3 which reads as *prācīṃ-prācīṃ pradiśam ā rabhethām etaṃ lokaṃ śraddadhānāḥ sacante* | *yad vāṃ pakvaṃ pariviṣṭam agnau tasya guptaye dampatī saṃ śrayethām.* According to the captions in Whitney's *Translation of the AV.*, the first of these hymns is used in a rite for obtaining offspring, and the second in the cremation of the dead.

Pūrtam, in pāda *c,* is, (as shown by the two above-cited AV verses), equivalent to *pakvam* and signifies 'offering made in the domestic (*smārta*) fire'; similarly, *gotra,* in pāda *d,* is equivalent to *gupti* 'protection'. It is evidently derived from *go* 'cow' and the root *trā* 'to protect'; its primary meaning would thus be 'protection of cows', from which has developed the secondary meaning 'protection'. Compare the word *gopītha* which is derived from *go* 'cow' and the root *pā* 'to protect' and signifies 'protection',[4] and *gaveṣaṇa* originally 'search for cows', and later 'search merely.'

tasmai gotrāya=*tasya gotrāya*; the dative in *tasmai* is probably due to the attraction of the dative *gotrāya* that follows immediately.

Regarding the accent of the vocative *jāyāpatī,* Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara has observed in his commentary that the word is a sort of interpolation and is therefore accented as if it stood in the beginning of the pāda (*atra caturthe pāde jāyāpatī iti catvāry akṣarāṇy abhikrāntāni* | *vinaiva ca tena ṛcaḥ pūrṇatvāt viśeṣyākāṅkṣāyām āmantritaṃ padam adhyāhṛtya paṭhitam* | *idam eva ca abhikrāntatvam*).

(20) KS. 25, 10 (=MS. 3, 8, 9):

viśvajanasya chāyāsīti viśvajanasya hy eṣā chāyā |
gotrād-gotrād dhy etat saṃprasarpanti ||

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4. Compare also the observations of Geldner in Ved. St. 2, 291.

"With the mantra *viśvajanasya chāyāsi*, he should put on the roof (to the *sadas*), for this shelter is for all people. People flock to this (*sadas*) from every family".

(21) VS. 20, 38 (=KS. 38, 6; MS. 3, 11, 1):

īḍito devair harivān abhiṣṭir
ājuhvāno haviṣā śardhamānaḥ |
puraṃdaro gotrabhid vajrabāhur
ā yātu yajñam upa no juṣāṇaḥ ||

"May he with the bay horses, the mighty one, praised by the gods and radiating glory, to whom oblations are offered, may he come with pleasure to our sacrifice (Indra), the destroyer of forts, the breaker of mountains, who is armed with the thunderbolt".

(22) TS. 2, 3, 14, 4: aryamā yāti vṛṣabhas tuviṣmān
dātā vasūnāṃ puruhūto arhan |
sahasrākṣo gotrabhid vajrabāhur
asmāsu devo draviṇaṃ dadhātu ||

"There comes the impetuous bull, Aryaman, conferrer of riches, worshipful, who is invoked by many. May the Vajra-armed god, thousand-eyed, who is the breaker of mountains, confer wealth on us".

Aryaman is identified with Indra in this mantra which is addressed to the latter deity. The mantra occurs in the KS (10, 13) and MS (4, 12, 4) also; but in the former text, pādas *a b* read as *āryamā yāti vṛṣabhas tuviṣmān yantā vasūni vidhate tanūpāḥ* and in the latter as *āryamā yāti vṛṣabhas turāṣāḍ dātā vasūni vi dadhe tanūpāḥ*.

gotra signifies 'family' in the compounds *kiṃ-gotra* and *yad-gotra* that occur in Chān. Up. 4, 4. The sentence *kiṃgotro nv aham asmi*, in this passage, means 'Now, to what family do I belong?', and the sentence *nāhaṃ etad veda yadgotras tvam asi* means 'I do not know to what family thou belongest.'

gotram thus has the meaning of (1) 'mountainrock', or (2) 'protection', or (3) 'family, *kula*' in the Vedic texts. One of these three meanings fits the context well in all the Vedic passages in which *gotraṃ* occurs; and it is unnecessary to assign to it the meaning 'herd of cows' also.

JANĀRDANA VYĀSA--A PROTEGE OF KAVĪNDRĀCĀRYA

BY

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA

Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner

There was a great revival of Sanskrit in Benares in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. One of the important names connected with it is that of Sarvavidyānidhāna Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī who was highly respected by Shah Jahan and Dara Shikoh and was instrumental in the abolition of the pilgrim tax at Benares and Prayag. A great scholar, he had the unique luck of combining his learning with large wealth, both of which he utilised for the good of the Hindu community. He maintained a big manuscripts Library. Prof. P. K. Gode[1] has given us very valuable information regarding this. Kavīndrācārya not only himself wrote many works in Sanskrit and Hindi, but also patronised and encouraged others to write. The works written by him are now well known, but not those written under his patronage among which latter is the Kāvyaprakāśa dīpikā, a commentary on the Kāvyaprakāśa of Mammaṭa, by Vyāsajanārdana, son of Bābujivyāsa, grandson of Viṭṭhalavyāsa and pupil of Jayarāma Nyāyapañcānana.

Aufrecht mentions this together with the Raghuvaṁśaṭīkā and a Vṛttaratnākaraṭīkā under Janārdana Vibudha (C. C. I, 197). Under a separate entry of Janārdana, surnamed Vyāsa, pupil of Jayarāma Nyāyapañcānana (*ibid.* P. 198), he mentions Padārthamālāgūḍhārthadīpikā, a Vaiśeṣika work. We will presently see that the author of the Kāvyaprakāśadīpikā is identical with the author of the Padārthamālāgūḍhārthadīpikā on the basis of the identity of parentage, surnames and preceptors. The separate entries in the Catalogus Catalogorum have therefore to be brought together. The commentaries on the Raghuvaṁśa and the Vṛttaratnākara were not accessible to me. In an extract of the beginning of the latter in the India Office catalogue by Eggeling, II, p. 303, the author pays homage to his preceptor

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1. See Jagadvijayacchandas, Ganga Oriental Series, No. 2.

Ananta and says that he writes the work for the pleasure of one Kṛṣṇadeva. Neither of these is mentioned in the work under notice. There is also difference of surnames. The identity of Vyāsajanārdana and Janārdana Vibudha cannot therefore be accepted unless definite evidence for it is adduced. Under the patronage of Mahārājā Anup Singhji of Bikaner, one Vyāsa Janārdana wrote a work on erotics, named Kāmaprabodha in ten Prakāśas. There is a ms. of this in the Anup Sanskrit Library. He may be the same as our author.

There is a MS. of the Kāvyaprākāśadīpikā (or Ślokadīpikā as given by Aufrecht) in the Anup Sanskrit Library. It is numbered 5397. It has 199 folios of the size of 11″ × 5″, with 11 lines in a page and 35 syllables in a line of Devanāgarī. The condition is fairly good. The end is missing. On the front page there is this endorsement:

पुस्तकमिदं जनार्दनव्यासस्य.

The work begins thus:

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।
महेशानसुतं हार्दमहत्तमतमोहरम् ।
गजासुरनिहन्तारं वयं गणपतिं नुमः ॥ १ ॥
विलसद्भूपलावण्यशृङ्गारैकनिकेतनम् ।
वन्दे परमया भक्त्या गोपीजनमनोहरम् ॥ २ ॥
मद्भीतिहेतूनि विभीषणानि त्याज्यानि सर्पादिविभूषणानि ।
नाथेत्युमासद्वचनामृतौघं पिबन्तमीशं प्रणमामि तुष्टम् ॥ ३ ॥
प्रस्फुरन्नेत्रशफरीं दुल्ल (?) मोहजर्जरीम् ।
सौभाग्यलहरीं नौमि गौरीं त्रिपथसंचरीम् ॥ ४ ॥
हृत्कान्तारलसन्मोहकरिपञ्चाननं परम् ।
नमामः सादरं भक्त्या जयरामाभिधं गुरुम् ॥ ५ ॥
त्रिशूलाग्रधृता काशी सर्वतोऽप्यधिका मता ।
दशाश्वमेधं विख्यातं तीर्थं तस्यां महत्तरम् ॥ ६ ॥
तत्राभवत्सकलतन्त्रपुराणवेत्ता
जेता समस्तखलवादिजनस्य सद्यः ।
श्रीविठ्ठलः स्वगुणगौरवतो गतो यो
व्यासोपनामपदवीं बुधमण्डलीषु ॥

तस्मद्बभूव सुकृती श्रुतिशास्त्रविचारभाक् ।
काव्यादिरसिकः श्रीमद्बाबुजीव्यासनामकः ॥ ८ ॥
पद्मेव पद्मनाभस्य पार्वतीव पुरद्विषः ।
तस्य पत्नी सुभद्रेति ख्यातानेकगुणोज्ज्वला ॥ ९ ॥
तस्याः सुतः सकलशास्त्रविचारपात्रं
गात्रं समर्प्य यतिभूसुरदेवहेतोः ।
योऽसौ विचार्य विविधान् कृतिभिर्निबद्धान्
ग्रन्थान् ततः किमपि कौतुकमातनोति ॥ १० ॥
श्रीमज्जनार्दनव्यासकृतिना कृतिनां मुदे ।
काव्यप्रकाशश्लोकानां दीपिका रच्यते स्फुटा ॥ ११ ॥
काशीवासी प्रकाशीकृतगुणनिचयः सर्वविद्याविलासी
दासीभूतः स्मरारेर्विषयसुखगणे भूर्युदासीनचेताः ।
गोदातीरे प्रमोदावलिवलिततमे जन्मभाक् पुण्यभूमा-
वृग्वेदी वेदवेदी जगति विजयते श्रीकवीन्द्रो यतीन्द्रः ॥ १२ ॥
गोदातीरनिवासी पश्चाद्येनाश्रिता काशी ।
ऋग्वेदीयाभ्यस्ता साङ्गा शाखाश्वलायनी शस्ता ॥ १३ ॥
अधीत्य वेदवेदाङ्गकाव्यशास्त्राण्यनेकशः ।
ततः स्वीकृत्य संन्यासं ब्रह्माभ्यासं समाश्रितः ॥ १४ ॥
सषडङ्गचतुर्वेदव्याख्यानकुशलो यती ।
आनन्दारण्यपारीन्द्रश्रीकवीन्द्रसरस्वती ॥ १५ ॥
अष्टादशपुराणज्ञो न्यायविज्ञो विवादजित् ।
मीमांसाधर्मशास्त्राणि शास्ति नास्तिकशास्तिकृत् ॥ १६ ॥
साहित्योपेतसौहित्यो योगवासिष्ठयोगवित् ।
दयादानसविज्ञानशीलसंतोषभूषितः ॥ १७ ॥
धर्मवैराग्यसौभाग्यपरानन्दातिनन्दितः ।
कवीन्द्रशर्मणा शर्म सर्वेषां जगतीजुषाम् ॥ १८ ॥
अमुना चिन्तितविभुना करनिर्मोकात्कवीन्द्रसुप्रभुणा ।
काशीप्रयागसंस्थः सुस्थः सर्वो जनोऽकारि ॥ १९ ॥
विचार्याचार्यसादृश्यं सर्वैरानन्दकानने ।
आचार्यपदवी दत्ता कवीन्द्राय महात्मने ॥ २० ॥
कर्णादयो वितरणप्रथिताः पृथिव्यां

यद्यप्येव भङ्गुरनल्पगुणाभिरामाः ।
साम्यं तथापि न कवीन्द्रयतेर्ययुस्ते
यावत्स्वतुल्यसमयैरगृहीतविद्याः ॥ २१ ॥
क ईदृग्दाता भूज्जगति भविता वा भवति वा
प्रयागे विप्रेभ्यो मकरमधियाते दिनमणौ ।
विरक्तेभ्यो वित्तं वितरणपटुभ्योऽप्यतितरां
यतो भिन्नो द्युम्नं वितरति ददौ दास्यति च यः ॥ २२ ॥
अहं कवीन्द्राख्यसरस्वतीनां विशिष्टवाक्यादिह संप्रवृत्तः ।
क्षन्तव्यमस्मच्चपलत्वमेतद्विद्वद्भिरिष्टैर्गुरुतो गरिष्ठैः ॥ २३ ॥

It ends thus:

केचित्त्वर्थालंकारमेवामनन्ति न पुनः शब्दालंकारमिति तन्मतमाह-विभावादिरिति[1] । तस्य काव्यस्यान्यैरालंकारिकै रूपकादिरेवालंकारो बहुप्रकारक उक्तः । अर्थ......

Among quotations are:

नवीनाः, एकदेशिनः, नवीननैयायिकाः, व्यासपादाः, मधुमती, चक्रवर्तिनः, सुबुद्धिमिश्राः, भारतीमित्रकविः, कौमुदीकृतः, प्रदीपकृतः, परमानन्दादयः, नृसिंहठक्कुराः, ध्वनिकृतः, गुरुचरणाः, भास्करमतम्, प्रभाकरगुरुमतम्, भर्तृहरिः, श्रीवत्सः, चण्डीदासः, अभिनवगुप्तपादाः, श्रीशङ्कुकः, भट्टनायकः, भागवतम्, भट्टलोल्लटः, मण्डनमिश्राः, महिमभट्टः ॥

1. (रूपकादिरिति ?) Ed.

A NOTE ON JANĀRDANA VYĀSA AND KAVĪNDRĀCĀRYA

BY

DR. V. RAGHAVAN

In the foregoing short notice of Janārdana Vyāsa, a protege of the well-known Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī of Beneres, Sri Madhava Krishna Sarma refers to the patronage and encouragement given by Kavīndrācārya to other authors. In this connection, it must be mentioned that Kavīndrācārya not only encouraged other writers but, as a regular leader of the learned at the great headquarters of Hinduism, urged upon all the scholars in the Śāstras who were negligent in the performance of Vedic rites to perform them; he induced even poets to do them. Kavīndrācārya exerted himself even in the work of finding employment for those who spent their time in mastering the Vedas. See my article on Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī, D. R. Bhandarkar Volume of the Indian Culture, pp. 159-165.

Verse 23 at the beginning of Janārdana Vyāsa's Kāvyaprakāśadīpikā extracted above in Sri M. K. M. Sarma's article mentions that the author undertook to write this gloss at the instance of Kavīndrācārya, and this is preceded by eleven verses, 12-22, giving an account of Kavīndrācārya and his exploits. Of these eleven verses, 12-22, 12 Kāśīvāsī etc., is śloka 2 of the Kavīndrakalpadruma of Kāvīndrācārya which I am editing on the basis of six manuscripts. Śl. 13 Godātīranivāsī, etc., is verse 4 of the Kavīndracandrodaya published as No. 60 in the Poona Oriental Series; the next, 14, Adhītya Veda, etc., is verse 3 of the Kavīndrakalpadruma; the verses that follow, 15-20, are the same, except for some omissions and change of order, as the eight verses eulogising Kavīndra on p. 2 of the Kavīndracandrodaya: 15 here Saṣaḍaṅga, etc., is 10 in KCU; 16, Aṣṭādaśa is 11 in KCU; the second line of 17 and the first line of 18 form verse 14 of KCU; the second line of 18 is the first line of 17 in KCU; 17 here is 15 in KCU; 20 here is 16 there. The two verses which follow then, 21 and 22, Karṇādayaḥ and Ka īdṛk dātābhūt, are the first two of the five verses in the address which Hemarāja read, serial śl. nos. 36, 37, KCU. On the significance of the second verse here, Ka īdṛk etc., see my article in the Bhandarkar Volume referred to previously, p. 162.

THE SAUBHĀGYACANDRĀTAPA OF NĪLAKAṆṬHA DĪKṢITA

BY

S. VENKITASUBRAMONIA IYER, M. A., B. SC.

Travancore University Oriental MSS. Library, Trivandrum

The *Saubhāgyacandrātapa* of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita is a rare work on Śākta Tantra, an old, incomplete and damaged palm-leaf manuscript of which in grantha script, having about 1500 *granthas*, was procured for the Oriental Manuscripts Library of the University of Travancore (Ms. No. 2041) in the year 1939 by Pandit R. A. Sastri, the well-known collector of manuscripts. The late Prof. P.P.S. Sastri brought it to the notice of scholars in his brief note entitled 'Two Rare Treatises on Śaktism' in *the Gopalakrishnamacharya Book of Commemoration* (1942, pp. 4. 32-34). The work commences thus:

> धरण्यादिमहेशान्ततत्त्वसङ्घोर्मिसङ्कुलम् ।
> अपारमतलस्पर्शमाद्यं रत्नाकरं नुमः ॥
> मधुरस्मित.........................जनन्याः ।
> धृतनन्दनचन्दनत्रिपुण्ड्रं त्रिजगन्मङ्गलमाननं स्मरामि ॥

इह तावदाविरिञ्चादा च कीटपतङ्गेभ्यः प्राणभृन्मात्रस्य प्रयोजन...... प्रवृत्तिरित्य......तत्र च सुखार्था प्रवृत्तिः प्रथमा, दुःखाभावार्था द्वितीया । सुखार्थं च प्रवर्तमाना जीवा द्विविधाः जडा विवेकिनश्चेति ।

It ends as follows:

> ....यं प्रबन्धमानन्दनिधिं महान्तः ।
> ....क्रमेनः पश्यन्तु ते चण्डिबुभुत्सयैव ।
> ......ध्यमानास्तन्त्रान्तरार्थास्सुग.... .
> ....नीलकण्ठमखिप्रणताय नमो नमस्ते ॥
> ....पक्षे वत्सरे भवनामनि......
> ....सौभाग्यचन्द्रातपप्रबन्धलेख...... ॥

The colophon at the end of the first Pariccheda, namely—

इति श्रीमद्भारद्वाजकुलजलधिकौस्तुभश्रीकण्ठमतप्रतिष्ठापनाचार्यचतुरधिकशतप्रबन्धनिर्वाहकश्रीमन्महाव्रतयाजिश्रीमदप्पय्यदीक्षितसोदर्यश्रीमदाच्चान्दीक्षित-

पौत्रेण श्रीनारायणदीक्षितात्मजेन श्रीभूमिदेवीगर्भसम्भवेन श्रीनीलकण्ठदीक्षितेन विरचिते श्रीसौभाग्यचन्द्रातपे प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ।

clearly shows that the author Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, son of Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita and Bhūmidevi, and grandson of Āccān Dīkṣita, the brother of the famous Appayya Dīkṣita, is identical with Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, the author of *Śivalīlārṇava*, *Nīlakaṇṭhavijaya*, *Nalacarita* and other works.

This is the only manuscript of the work so far known, but the actual extent of the work cannot be ascertained from the portion available in this manuscript.[1] It breaks off at the end of the second Pariccheda, but that the author had the idea of having at least four Paricchedas is shown by the following statements in the available portion :

नादशिखारूपं तु चतुर्थपरिच्छेदे वक्ष्यते ।

श्रीविद्योपासकानां च साम्बशिवोपासक(कत्व)स्यास्माभिरेव चतुर्थपरिच्छेदेऽप्यवस्थापयिष्यमाणत्वेन तेषामप्यावश्यकमेव भस्मत्रिपुण्ड्रधारणम् ।

The first Pariccheda may be regarded as an introduction to the work. It establishes the worship of Parā Śakti or Tripurasundarī as the surest means of salvation even in a single life. Briefly stated, the contents of this Pariccheda are as follows :

People are of two kinds—those who strive after pleasure and those who strive after the absence of sorrow. Those who strive after pleasure are of two kinds—*jaḍas* or fools, who seek pleasures of the body, and *vivekins* or the intelligent who seek pleasure of the mind. The *vivekins*, again, are of two kinds—*apariṇatas* i.e., immature, who are satisfied with mundane objects of pleasure like wealth and children, and *pariṇatas* i.e , the mature who pursue the threefold aspects of *dharma*, viz., *yajña* (performance of sacrifices), *adhyayana* (study of the Vedas) and *dāna* (gifts of wealth), and by this means seek the pleasures of heaven. But all these enjoy pleasure only for a specified period and hence should be discarded. It is only the *mumukṣu*

1. Prof. P.P.S. Sastri in his paper referred to above observes that Atirātrayājin, the younger brother of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita has written a work by name *Śrīpadārthadīpikā* (also known as *Śrīpadārthavyavasthā*), based on the *Saubhāgyacandrātapa*. An examination of this work would be helpful in knowing the extent of our work.

(seeker after salvation), who strives after permanent cessation of misery, that attains salvation.

The means of attaining this salvation is *Brahmajñāna i.e.* knowledge of Brahman, and Brahman is the same as Śiva and Śakti, which are two aspects of the same Supreme Being. The knowledge of the nature of Śiva-Śakti, therefore, leads to salvation (mokṣa)[2]

The means for this knowledge is threefold—*jñānamārga* (Path of knowledge), *Karmamārga* (Path of Action) and *Bhaktimārga* (Path of Devotion). Of these *jñānamārga* with intricacies of *Śravaṇa, manana, nididhyāsana* etc., is very difficult to practise and requires a number of lives before one can accomplish it, and is like attempting to cross the ocean by swimming. The second path *Karmamārga*, which constitutes the performance of *nitya* and *naimittika karmas*, dedicating them all to God, also only leads to *jñānamārga*, and hence unattainable in a single life. So what remains is only the *Bhaktimārga*, and this is capable of bringing about salvation even in a single life. It has got *vairāgya* (renunciation) as its attribute, and is to be practised keeping *karmayoga* as its accessory. The worship of Parā-Śakti, therefore, is the surest means of *Brahmajñāna*, and consequently of salvation.[2]

The mode of this worship is to be gathered from *Purāṇas* and *Divyāgamas*. The authority of the *Purāṇas* and *Āgamas* may be questioned, but the statement in the *Mahābhārata*

पुराणं धर्मशास्त्रं च वेदाः पाशुपतं तथा ।
आज्ञासिद्धानि चत्वारि न हन्तव्यानि हेतुभिः ॥

shows their equal authority with the Vedas. One should, however, discriminate between the Āgamas conforming to the Vedic injunctions and those that are contradictory to them, and accept the former alone as proper authorities.

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1. परमपुरुषार्थो मोक्ष एव । स च ज्ञानेनैव साध्यः । तच्च ज्ञान ब्रह्मविषयकम् । तच्च ब्रह्म शिवः शिवा च । तत्र च वस्तुत एकस्यैव चैतन्यस्यानाद्य विद्यावशात् धर्मधर्मिभावमिवापन्नस्य शिवेति शिव इति च व्यवह्रियमाणत्वात् उमासहायपरमेश्वरविषयकं परमेश्वराङ्कपर्यङ्कनिविष्टपराशक्तिविषयकं विज्ञानं मोक्षसाधनमिति युक्तमुभयथाप्यभ्युपगन्तुम् ।

2. तस्मात् ज्ञानशक्त्यात्मिकायां परायां भक्तिं विना अभिमते जन्मनि मोक्षो नास्तीति सिद्धम् ।

The Pariccheda concludes with the statement that in the rest of the work are discribed in order *Nyāsa, Pūjā, Japa* and *Samarpaṇa* in accordance with the Vaidika Āgamas like the *Vāmakeśvaratantra*.

The second Pariccheda commences with the detailed description of the routine of a *sādhaka* one after another. The preliminaries are described first. These consist of rising up early in the morning and meditation on *guru, devatā and mantra*, and prayer to the Earth ; and then in order *Śauca* (response to calls of nature), *dantadhāvana* (cleaning of teeth), *mukhaprakṣālana* (washing the face), *snāna* (bath), *bhasmalepana* (smearing of ashes), *tripuṇḍradhāraṇa* (putting on *tripuṇḍra* mark), *sandhyāvandana* (performance of the worship of sandhyā) and *agnihotra*. After these he should enter the *pūjāgṛha* (place of worship) and perform *ātmaśuddhi, bhūtaśuddhi* and *prāṇapratiṣṭhā*. and then commence the performance of the *nyāsas*, the first of which is the *Ṣoḍhānyāsa* consisting of (1) *Gaṇeśanyāsa*, (2) *Grahanyāsa*, (3) *Nakṣatradevatānyāsa*, (4) *yoginīnyāsa*, (5) *Rāśinyāsa*, and (6) *Pīṭhanyāsa*. Then follows the detailed account of the *Śrīcakranyāsa* with the following divisions :

(1) *Caturaśrarekhānyāsa*. (three varities)
(2) *Sarvāśāparipūrakacakranyāsa*
(3) *Sarvasaubhāgyadāyakacakranyāsa*
(4) *Sarvārthasādhakacakranyāsa*
(5) *Sarvarakṣākaracakranyāsa*
(6) *Sarvarogaharacakranyāsa*
(7) *Āyudhāntaranyāsa*
(8) *Sarvasiddhipradacakranyāsa*
(9) *Sarvānandamayacakranyāsa*
(10) *Āyudhavaranyāsa*
(11) *Aṣṭāracakranyāsa*
(12) *Antardaśāracakranyāsa*
(13) *Bahirdaśāracakranyāsa*
(14) *Caturdaśāracakranyāsa*
(15) *Aṣṭadalapadmanyāsa*
(16) *Ṣoḍaśadalapadmanyāsa*
(17) *Mudrāntaranyāsa*
(18) *Aṇimādyāntaranyāsa*
(19) *Cakreśvarīnavakanyāsa*

The manuscript does not extend further.

Elaborate description of each process is given, and the author often enters into discussions of different views on the same process. He has drawn upon a large number of earlier works in the field and has profusely quoted from them. The following list of the works and authors mentioned in this work will give an idea of his profound knowledge of Tantra literature:

Works

अजितम्
अंशुमद्
अर्णवः
आदित्यपुराणम्
आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्टम्
ईश्वरगीता
उत्तररामायणम्
कामिकम्
कारणम्
किरातार्जुनीयम्
कुलोड्डीशतन्त्रम्
कौर्मपुराणम्
चतुश्शती
चिन्त्यविश्वसादाख्यम्
जाबालश्रुतिः
ज्ञानार्णवः
तत्त्वचिन्तामणिः
तन्त्रराजः
दक्षिणामूर्तिसंहिता
नक्षत्रवादावली[1]
नानार्थरत्नमाला
पौष्करम्

प्रपञ्चसारसङ्ग्रहः
प्राकृतसप्तशती
बोधायनगृह्यम्
ब्रह्ममीमांसा
ब्रह्मयामलम्
भगवद्गीता
भागवतम्
भारद्वाजस्मृतिः
मकुटः
मतङ्गम्
मतङ्गपारमेश्वरम्
मत्स्यपुराणम्
मन्त्रदेवताप्रकाशिका
महाभारतम्
महाभाष्यम्
महास्वच्छन्दसङ्ग्रहः
मार्कण्डेयम्
मेरुतन्त्रम्
योगपातञ्जलम्
योगिनीहृदयम्

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1 This is mentioned as the work of the author's grandfather *asmatpitāmahacaraṇānām, i.e.* Appayya Dīkṣita, his grandfather's brother.

रत्नकोशः
रत्नावली
राजमार्तण्डः
लघुस्तोत्रम्
ललिताख्यानम्
ललितार्चनमञ्जरी
वाक्यपदीयम्
वामकेश्वरतन्त्रम्
वामनपुराणम्
विष्णुपुराणम्
वीरतन्त्रम्
शातातपस्मृतिः
शारदातिलकम्
शिवधर्मः
शिवपुराणम्
शिवार्चनचन्द्रिका[1]
सनत्कुमारसंहिता

सन्तानम्
सप्तशती
सामविधानब्राह्मणम्
सुप्रभेदः
सूक्ष्मतन्त्रम्
सूर्यसिद्धान्तः
सौभाग्यचिन्तामणिः
सौभाग्यपद्धतिः[2]
सौभाग्यरत्नाकरः
सौभाग्यसुधोदयः
सौरसंहिता
स्कन्दकालोत्तरम्
स्वायम्भुवम्

Authors

अत्रिः	कैयटः	याज्ञवल्क्यः
अमृतनाथः	बादरायणः	वामनः
आपस्तम्बः	बोधायनः	सुन्दराचार्यः
कात्यायनः	भारद्वाजः	

He has also quoted from the Vedas and Upaniṣads.

Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita is best known as a poet and critic of art. This work, the *Saubhāgyacandrātapa*, shows him also as an authority on Śākta Tantra.

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1 This is also mentioned as a work of the author's grandfather (*asmatpitāmahacaraṇa*), *i. e.* Appayya Dīkṣita, his grandfather's brother.

2 This is stated to be a work of the author's elder brother (*asmatjyeṣṭhacaraṇa*). This brother must be Āccān Dīkṣita.

THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE

A meeting was held under the auspices of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute on Sunday, 1st August 1948, at the Ranade Hall, Mylapore, to tender the respectful congratulations of the Institute to H. H. Sri Rama Varma Parikshit, on his accession as Maharajah of Cochin. The President of the Institute, Sri T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, presided.

Dr. V. Raghavan, one of the Secretaries of the Institute, read the messages that had been received for the success of the function. These included messages from Sri T. K. Nair, Prime Minister of Cochin, important scholars and citizens of Cochin, the Rajah Saheb of Phaltan and other members of the Institute.

Miss Devaki, daughter of Dr. C. R. Krishna Pillai, then sang verses on the Maharajah of Cochin, composed by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. Sri T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Pandit Vepattur Subrahmanya Sastri, Sri D. H. Nambudripad, Mrs. Devaki Menon and Sri K. Balasubramania Iyer then spoke.

Sri T. R. Venkatarama Sastri said in the course of his speech:

We have met here today to offer our respectful felicitations to the Maharajah of Cochin, who bears the illustrious name Parikshit. He is a member of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute. He has been a member of the Board of Studies in Sanskrit in the Madras University. The present Maharajah of Cochin was also a student of the Presidency College and his reputation for a long time has been of deep scholarship in Sanskrit. I think, on the whole, the Cochin State exhibits scholarship in Sanskrit in a much larger degree than any other State—not merely the Ruler of the country but also the people; men and women devote much time there to the study of Sanskrit than I have known in any other part of the country. I have heard that the great Maharajah who abdicated, following the practices of ancient sovereigns of the country, had a great name for scholarship. There were not many who had reached that height of scholarship. I have heard it said that that great Maharajah used to say that this nephew of his, the present Maharajah, was superior

to himself. The Maharajah has been till recently teaching people going to him, giving lessons in Tarka Sastra and other studies, sometimes getting pupils from the school and getting teachers to teach classes in his presence in the palace. It is a matter of great congratulation to us and to our ancient ideals, that one blessed with this scholarship and learning should be called upon to perform the function of a constitutional ruler of a country.

Dr. C. Kunhan Raja said :

We are met here to convey our felicitations to His Highness Sri Rama Varma Parikshit, Maharajah of Cochin. As a matter of fact, the felicitations should go to the people of the Cochin State, to the people of Kerala, to the people of South India, to the people of India and I may say to the whole of humanity. This is an occasion which was not rare in ancient times but very rare in modern times and probably the last in the history of the world, that a great scholar should ascend the throne in a country. In western countries we have known of Alexander, the disciple of Aristotle ; we have heard of Julius Caeser who was a great historian and great writer in Roman literature ; we have heard of Marcus Aurelius, a great philosopher of his time. Now we have got the traditions of King John who signed the famous Magna Carta without knowing what it was and who could not even sign his name. But in India itself the tradition of scholars becoming kings had obtained for a long time, and probably this will be the last instance which future historians will have to record of a great scholar assuming ruling powers in a State. It is quite fitting that this Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute should meet on such an occasion. I do not know how many of you present here would be able to think back of Madras 24 years ago when we had the Oriental Conference here. At that time his late Highness Sri Rama Varma, a great scholar, and Sri Parikshit, both of them were here and I distinctly remember the occasion of the Pandita Parishad, the assembly of scholars in which both those distinguished personages were present. Eminent scholars were there and it was perhaps one of the great assemblies of scholars that I have ever seen. His Highness was connected with the Madras University as a member of the Board of Studies in Sanskrit and also as a member of the Examiners for the oriental titles for many years. He was connected in the same capacity with the Annamalai University

also for many years. His great uncle who abdicated the throne 35 years ago, had given a correct lead to Parikshit. After the exit of Sri Krishna, all people assembled in Naimisaranya and thought of the way of continuing Dharma. Like that we must form a new Naimisaranya now. Here it is that I will have to make a request to our President, Mr. Sastri, and another to the Press. Unless we extend our activities, continuing it far and wide, to centres like Bombay and Delhi, Benares and Lahore and Calcutta and other places, we cannot succeed in our cultural progress. We must take this movement for Sanskrit not merely as a Madras affair but take it as a far wider thing covering the whole of India ; it will become a world affair. If we can have our Sanskrit movement as an all-India movement, there is no doubt that every province in India will have to revolve on the same axis and in the same direction. This is the request which I have to make to our President Mr. Sastriar. Another request which I have to make to the Press is to have a regular supplement week after week for propagating culture and education and other things about India. What I want is that all the legislators, all the top-ranking administrators of the country, all the newspaper editors, all the lawyers and judges, and all the prominent people, young and old, should know Sanskrit and should make use of Sanskrit. I am saying this to impress upon you the danger facing us. You should know that there was a similar danger to the whole of India some time back. It was a Malayalee, Sankara, a Tamilian, Ramanuja, and a Kannadiga, Madhvachari, who came to the rescue of Sanskrit and the whole of India. The Sanskrit world owe a debt of gratitude to these three people. Are we, Malayalees, Tamilians and Kannadigas, to remain quiet, when there is a great danger to Sanskrit and is our attempt to end with some local activity, and should we not go beyond this? Should we not start the all-India movement? With these words I offer my humble felicitations to His Highness Sri Rama Varma Parikshit, the Maharajah of Cochin, who will stand as a guide to humanity by virtue of his deep scholarship.

Panditaraja Sri Subrahmanya Sastri of Annamalai University then spoke in Tamil about His Highness and the scholarship of the Maharajah in Sanskrit from personal experience gained through his intimate contact with the Maharajah at the Pandita Parishad held by him annually. Sri Subrahmanya Sastri said

it was his duty to attend the meeting held in honour of an Uttamasloka and a Rajarshi. Replying to a letter of congratulation from him, the Maharajah had recently written that his royal duties might prove a hindrance to his free pursuit of his scholarly interests. Such was his ardent love for Sanskrit and Sastraic studies. The Maharajah's Panditya in the Tarka sastra has an exceptional quality. While cross-examining a student or Pandit, he would put questions of such a nature that one would be amazed at the originality of his mind and comprehensiveness of his grasp of the Sastra. The Maharajah had written a new commentary on the Kārikāvalī. The Maharajah was equally learned in Alankara and edanta Sastras and had composed many hymns which had been published. The lecturer also referred to the sweet manner in which the Maharajah referred to everybody in a gathering including the students as 'Sriman'. He also made reference to the fact how the late Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri had appreciated the Mahrajah's scholarship and had held that the Board of Examiners in Oriental Title was never complete without the Maharajah.

Sri D. H. Nambudiripad spoke then. Srimati Devaki Ammal, Sanskrit Lecturer, Queen Mary's College Madras, read Sanskrit verses composed by her on His Highness.

T. R. Venkatarama Sastri then moved the following resolution:

"This meeting held under the auspices of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, tenders its respectful felicitations to His Highness Sri Rama Varma Parikshit, a renowned Sanskrit scholar and patron of Oriental learning, on his accession as the Maharaja of Cochin and prays for his long life and prosperous career as ruler of Cochin."

Sri K. Balasubramania Aiyar, one of the Secretaries of the Institute, spoke in support of the resolution. He recollected the unforgottable scene of the Pandita Parishad held in the Madras Sanskrit College during the third Oriental Conference. It was unanimously agreed to that none at that time deserved to preside over the gathering than the great scholar aud King, the late abdicated Maharajah of Cochin. It was an unique gathering of Pandits of outstanding ability the like of which one could never see. The quiet and simple style in which the Maharajah arrived there in a

'Mundu' and Shawl, along with his nephew the present Maharajah, gave them great delight. What was more, the Maharajah put questions in the debate which proved him an equal to the Panditas; and on that occasion the late Maharajah said that his quiet nephew by his side was a greater Tārkika. Sri K. Balasubramania Aiyar said it was their peculiar fortune that a scholar of such eminence had ascended the throne of Cochin. They looked forward to a glorious and long reign and hoped for a great patronage of learned men and learning, and particularly of Sanskrit.

THE 21ST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS, PARIS

This summer of 1948 saw Paris become once more the centre of several International Congresses. These periodic meetings of scientists from all over the world had to be interrupted during the war, but at last this exchange of views and discoveries is once more re-established.

The institution of the International Congress of Orientalists was founded in Paris in 1873. The first and the eleventh Congress were held in the French capital. These meetings are generally held every three years, but two world wars have been the cause of long interruptions. The twentieth Congress was held in Brussels in 1938.

The twenty-first Congress was held with the same aim in view as the preceding ones, to gather together the delegates and members of all the institutions over the world who have devoted their life's study to orientalism, that is the study of Man and Civilisations in the Orient, more than half of humanity.

Orientalism covers in fact ancient and modern civilisations in that part of the world stretching from North Africa to the Pacific. It is concerned with the culture of the world outside of Europe and America, and in the present day more than a thousand million men belong to the civilisations of India, Islamic countries and China. The Congress was thus the means of bringing together the scholars of the most varied learnings, which were divided into ten sections:

(1) Egyptology, (2) Semitic Studies, (3) Assyriology, (4) Iranian and Central-asiatic studies, Turcology, (5) Indology, (6) Indo-chinese and Indonesian studies. (7) Sinology, (8) Islamic studies, (9) East-West. Christian Orientalism, (10) Archaeology, Proto-history and Ethnology.

More than 260 communications were made in the above sections. Moreover, several general meetings, or meetings which grouped several sections, were held to allow the scholars to study problems of general interest, or related to several fields of study. It was thus that the Congress commemorated

the millenary anniversary of Al-Biruni, which the Iran Society of Calcutta was to celebrate later and which recalled to mind the memory of a scholar of rare universality, since he was able, in times of fanaticism, to have a profound knowledge of hellenic philosophy, a complete mastery of Arabic literature of his time, and a vast Sanskrit culture which enabled him to leave precious work for the greater glory of India.

The section of Indology was particularly active. The Indian delegation, presided by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, delegate of the Indian Government, included Mahāmahopādhyaya P. V. Kane, delegate of the University of Bombay and the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Professor S. K. Chatterji, delegate of the University of Calcutta and the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, delegate of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona and Secretary of the All-India Oriental Conference. Besides these representatives a great number of universities, societies and Indian personalities were represented and sent reports and communications. A number of great international works concerning the development of Indian studies were approved by the entire Congress, notably an imprortant scientific investigation into the modern Indian languages and folklore, (a research which becomes extremely urgent due to the rapid changes that are taking place in the India of to-day), a plan for an Encyclopaedia of technical notions and terms of ancient Indian thought, the continuation of Mr. Vishvabandhu Sastri's great work (Vedic-Word-Concordance), a new Sanskrit Thesaurus, etc.

The Indian delegates were able to ascertain for themselves the continuity of the study of Indology in the West, particularly in France, and the enthusiasm with which suceessive generations strive to enrich the field of Indian philology, with the object of promoting a truly universal humanism.

Among the general resolutions of the Congress, special mention must be made of the decision to influence educational circles in introducing in all countries essential notions on the great living civilisations of the East, particularly India, Islamic countries and China. It is more and more apparent that a general knowledge of Man and Humanism, in the full sense of the word, nor a true comprehension between East and West

can exist without a well-balanced knowledge of the great civilisations of the world.

The congressists made visits to the Louvre and Guimet Museums where important oriental collections are exposed. Moreover, they were able to visit several temporary exhibitions, a number of which were organised on the occasion of the Congress. Among these exhibitions mention must be made of the following: the findings of the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient in the South of Indochina (findings which prove the mediterranean and Indian influence on the country in the first centuries of the Christian era, and which have much in common with the discoveries made in Virapatnam near Pondicherry); new acquisitions of the Teheran Museum, which were lent by the Iranian Government and which comprise objects in gold, bronze and pottery as well as ancient inscriptions; French influence in China in the XVIIIth century; the Imprimerie Nationale de France exposed several books, among which a monumental edition of the Bhāgavata-purāṇa, printed a century ago; the Société Asiatique presented at the Bibliotheque Nationale de Paris an exhibition of the principal types of characters and books used in the world.

More than 800 delegates were present. More than thirty countries and seventy academies, universities and societies were represented. The Congress was organised by the Société Asiatique de Paris, which is the chief organization dealing with orientalism in France. Monsieur Jacques Bacot, Member of the Institut, presided, and Monsieur Rene Grousset, Member of the Academie Francaise, was the secretary.

Resolutions passed by 21st International Congress of Orientalists

1. The Congress has decided that the International Consultative Committee will continue to function as a permanent International Committee till the next Congress, and should vacancies arise before then, they will be filled by co-option.

2. The project of instituting a union of orientalist societies in co-ordination with the UNESCO, which was presented by the Netherlands Oriental Society and placed before the XXIth Congress in its inaugural sitting on the 23rd July, was carefully examined, in conformity with the decision taken

at the 1st sitting by the International Consultative Committee and the delegates of the Oriental societies and institutes, with the co-operation of the UNESCO delegate. The Congress has decided that this project will be examined by the permanent International Committee and adjourned to the next Congress.

3. The Congress moved a motion that essential notions on the civilisations of the East and especially of Islam, India and China, be introduced in the educational programmes of all countries, following a motion moved by the Société Asiatique de Paris on the 11th January 1946 concerning France, and a similar one presented in sections V and IX by Mr. R. Schwab.

4. The Congress moved the motion that the publication of an Orientalist Bibliography analogous to the old Orientalische Bibliographie be undertaken, following a proposal made by Mr. Gaudefroy-Demombynes in section VIII, and later in the other sections and to the International Consultative Committee. The Congress decided that the Permanent International Committee will do its utmost to draft a plan and seek the means of carrying it into effect with the assistance of the interested scientific organizations. As a temporary measure, each country will establish its own biblography.

5. The Congress, alarmed by the continuously aggravated hindrances which the regulations of the Custom, Police and politics exercise on universal culture and particularly on oriental studies, notably the difficulty of exporting scientific books, has decided to make an appeal to all the governments and international organizations (UNO, UNESCO, etc.) to obtain a change in the state of things and allow an exchange of culture to take place unhindered to suit the spiritual needs of our civilisation. (Motion proposed by M. Abel in section VIII).

6. Mr. H. R. Gibb and Mr. Levi-Provencal informed the Congress that, in order to prepare a plan for the revision and re-edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam, it is proposed to hold a meeting of the delegates of the Academies responsible for the creation of the Encyclopaedia and the present editing committee in April 1949, under the auspices of the Permanent International Committee of the Congress. The Congress was pleased to give full consent to the proposition.

7. Following the proposal made by section V, the Congress would like to draw the attention of the Governments of

India, Pakistan and Ceylon, and all the scientific societies of those countries, to the necessity of making a scientific investigation into the modern Indian languages and folklore, and proposes a plan of action which will be submitted to the interested organizations for detailed elaboration. (*See* complete text of motion in Appendix.)

8. The Congress, after deliberation by the section of Indology, considered with deep interest and approved the plan for an *Encyclopaedia of technical notions and terms of ancient Indian thought*, the clauses of which will be drawn up from the summaries of monographs established for each of these notions. This *opus magnum* will be prepared by the publication of a Bulletin which could be called in Sanskrit *Saṃjñāvyākaraṇa* and in Latin *Semantica Indica*. The publishing house will be stablished in Europe, probably in Paris, while the responsibili y for the Encyclopaedia itself, will fall to the Indian Centre for International Coaordination of Indological Studies, under the direction of a committee of Indian and Western scholars, which committee is in process of formation under the auspices of the University of Delhi. The All-India Oriental Conference will be officially informed of the present resolution and requested to give its full support to the project.

9. The Congress, informed by section V of the importance of the work undertaken by Mr. Vishvabandhu Shastri, assisted by a devoted team of workers, *viz.*, the publication of the *Vedic-Word-Concordance*, congratulated Mr. Vishvabandhu Shastri and his collaborators for their work, continued in East Punjab at present under very difficult conditions. The Congress expresses the wish that the Indian Government, Universities and Societies, as well as all the scientific organizations of the world interested in the progress of Indian studies, will give to this enterprise all the moral and material help at their disposal.

10. The congress was informed by section V of the project of a *Sanskrit Thesaurus* prepared through the good offices of the Deccan College Research Institute in Poona, and expressed its satisfaction that a work so important to the progress of Sanskritic studies, and orientalism in general, be undertaken. It gives its full confidence to the Deccan College Institute to conduct the undertaking with complete success. The Congress expresses the wish that the Government of India, the Universities and interested societies, will

give their complete moral and material support to this enterprise.

11. Following the proposal made by section V, the Congress expresses the wish that the publication of the translation of the Rg-Veda by Geldner be promptly completed.

12. Following the proposal made by section V, the Congress expresses its congratulations to the Committee in charge of the work undertaken in Ceylon, directed by Professor Ratnasuriya, namely, the publication of a Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary. It expresses the wish that this model work of lexicography be rapidly brought to a successful issue.

13. Following the proposal made by Mr. Ligeti in section VII, the Congress expresses the wish that the publication of the inventory of Tibetan manuscripts brought back by Paul Pelliot to the Bibliotheque Nationale de Paris, be continued and completed as soon as possible.

14. Following the proposal made by Mr. R. Schwab to section V, the Congress expresses the wish that a history of orientalism be undertaken.

15. Following the proposal made by Mr. Lefort in section IX, the Congress expresses the wish that the name 'Orient-chretien' (Christian Orient) be maintained in the next meetings of the Congress to designate the section which covers the work concerning ancient Christian literature in the Orient.

16. The Congress expresses the desire that an International Committee entrusted with the task of co-ordinating the work concerning the publication of the archives of the Ottoman Empire, in Turkey and outside Turkey, be set up, the centre of which could be in Turkey. (This proposal was made by Mr. Kurat in section IV (Turcology), corroborated by the proposals in the same section made by M. Bombaci and M. Duda with the object of encouraging a work of similar nature undertaken in Italy and Austria, and which come in tune with the proposal made by Mr. Svoronos in section IX, that a systematic index be made of the archives in Europe dealing with the Ottoman Empire.

17. Following the proposal made in section IV (Iranian and Central-Asiatic studies), the Congress expresses the wish that the publication, undertaken under the patronage of the

Iranian Government, of a vocabulary of the Persian language, be made ready as soon as possible in the Persian language and one European language.

18. Following the proposal made by Mr. Ligeti in section VII and the proposal made in section IV (Turcology), the Congress expresses the wish that the collections which are still difficult to get hold of and belonging to Ecole National des Langues Orientales Vivantes, be catalogued, in particular the Korean collection, which includes works of great value that are to be found nowhere else in Europe.

Complete text of the motion No. 7 proposed by section V (Indology) and passed by the Congress.

The XXIth International Congress of Orientalists would like to draw the attention of the Governments of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, and of all the learned Societies in these countries to the great importance of activising the researches into modern Indian languages and folklore.

The admirable basis laid for such studies by the publication of the *Linguistic Survey of India* and other works of Indian and Occidental scholars makes it all the more incumbent on the present generation to continue and further develop their work.

At the present moment it is still possible to do so if all opportunities are being used with energy and without delay. But modern social areas, which, however desirable for other reasons, will inevitably and irrevocably, within a near future, wipe out many dialects and linguistic features of the greatest importance for the understanding of the history of Indian language and culture, and of Indo-European and general linguistics.

The first necessary step to be taken is the training in linguistics and phonetical methods of an adequate number of field-workers and academic teachers. As an encouragement to students wanting to take up research work on such lines it might prove useful if Universities and Learned Societies could establish scholarships and prizes for the study of modern dialects and folklore.

In India it might be practical to let the Anthropological Survey take hand of the field-work.

Various lines of attacking the problem seem possible:

(1) The use of special questionnaires on the pattern of Grierson's *Bihar Peasant Life*, and of ordinary questionnaires embracing also the morphology of the dialects in question. These might be utilised for the construction of linguistic atlases of select areas, in compliance with the plan made by the recent Sixth Linguistic Congress for the Linguistic Atlas of the world.

(2) Collection of folklore.

(3) Special attention ought to be given to the languages of Southern India which have been only cursorily dealt with in the *Linguistic Survey of India.*

For the rest the methods of work would have to be evolved in detail by the institutions directing the researches.

DR. O. LACOMBE,
Professor, Sorbonne, Paris
AND
DR. J. FILLIOZAT,
Secretary, Societe Asiatique de Paris,
Professor, Sorbonne, Paris.

THE 14TH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, DARBHANGA

At the invitation of Maharajadhiraj Sir Kameshwar Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of Darbhanga, the All-India Oriental Conference held its 14th session at Darbhanga. In Mithilā hallowed by the memory of Janaka and Yājñavalkya, the home of Poet Vidyāpati, in the land of Sanskrit and Navya-nyāya, where the ruler himself is a descendant of the celebrated author and logician, Maheśa Ṭhakkura, there was an unique gathering of over 600 scholar-delegates and 300 Pandits from distant parts of the country, ranging from Tavancore to East Punjab. Among other notable delegates were Prof. Louis Renou of the Paris University, Prof. C. A. Rylands of the London School of Oriental and African Studies, Mr. Tan Yuan Shan, Representative of the Chinese Government, Miss Yan Shan, Chinese artist, and a representative of the Belgian Government.

The Conference, which was in session from October 15 to 18, was opened by the Maharaja of Darbhanga. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, retired Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University and distinguished historian, was the General President of the session. The following presided over the twelve sections of the Conference: Vedic—Dr. R. N. Dandekar of Poona; Iranian—Prof. D. D. Kapadia of Bombay ; Classical Sanskrit—Prof. S. P. Bhattacharya of Calcutta; Islamic—Prof. M. Z. Siddiqui; Pali and Buddhism—Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt ; Prakrit and Jainism—Dr. A. M. Ghatge; History—Dr. N. Venkataramanayya of Madras; Archaeology—Mr. Khwaja M. Ahmed of Hyderabad; Linguistics—Dr. Bhatakrishna Ghosh ; Dravidian—Mr. K. Ramakrishnayya of the Madras University ; Philosophy and Religion—Dr. P. T. Raju of the Andhra University; and Technical Sciences and Fine Arts—Prof. P. K. Gode of Poona. Owing to the unavoidable absence of some of the elected Presidents, the proceedings of the History and Archaeology sections were conducted by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti and Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, and those of the Technical Sciences section by Sri G. P. Majumdar.

Welcome Address

In his welcome address, the Chariman of the Reception Committee, Dr. Amarnath Jha, Vice-Chancellor of the Benares

Hindu University, stressed the importance of the study of the classics in the world to-day when technological inventions and gadgets of physical conveniences exercise a fatal fascination on our minds. Pleading that everyone should be encouraged to study Sanskrit, the Vice-Chancellor said that only that language which most approached Sanskrit and which would reflect the culture and tradition of the land, namely, Sanskritised Hindi, could become India's national language, while English would serve us in our international contacts and provincial languages in our regional affairs.

Presidential Address

In his presidential address, Dr. Majumdar laid stress on Indian culture to which, he said, "modern India should turn for guidance and inspiration rather than to the progressive nations of the West." He believed that the world to-day was "badly in need of the blessings of Indian culture". Those essential characteristics of ancient Indian culture which had stood the test of time would, he said, supply the necessary guiding principles not only to modern India but to the war-weary world suffering from nationalism, commercialism and militarism. Drawing attention to the leading ideas of this ancient Indian culture, the President said that for a true and complete understanding of all this, the first pre-requisite was a wider diffusion of the study of Sanskrit and giving it a much better status in our so-called higher and liberal education in colleges and universities. "This Oriental Conference, being vitally interested in the promotion of Indian culture, must see to it that the study of Sanskrit and Sanskritic languages and literature in all branches is given a due place in the new system of education that will be introduced in Free India." Citing the example of the Buddhistic texts, he pointed out how a simplified Sanskrit could even become universally popular. Adverting to the practical issues of this question, the Vice-Chancellor said, that Government should take up the encouraging and reorganisation of the traditional *tols*, incorporating in them elements of a modern education and introduction of Sanskrit as a compulsory subject in our schools, colleges and universities for all non-professional and non-technological groups. He called upon the Central Government to set up a central organisation for the collection of manuscripts, publication of texts and the organisation of higher study and research.

Sections and Papers

In the twelve sections, nearly 200 papers were read by scholars, the Classical Sanskrit section, as usual, leading with the largest number, and that of Indian Philosophy coming next. The wide range of the subjects can be gauged when it is noted that two of the papers dealt with rudiments of a system of Indian stenography and a telegraphic and wireless code for India, both by Sri Guha Thakkura of Benares.

Open Session: Lectures and Symposia

In the open session of the Conference, His Excellency Mr. M. S. Aney, Governor of Bihar, joining the scholars, read a learned paper on ancient relations between India and Ceylon. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Director-General of Archaeology, in a lecture surveying the history and present state of Indological research in India and abroad, urged the need for the Government of India starting a Central Institute of Indological Research. Dr. V. Raghavan opened the symposium on Sanskrit as a National Language in which Prof. Baburam Saxena, Pandita Kshama Rao, Mm. Chinnaswami Sastri, Dr. S. K. Chatterji and other scholars took part. There was a second symposium on One-act Nāṭakas in Sanskrit in which Dr. S. K. De, Dr. V. Raghavan and Prof. V. A. Ramasawmi Sastri took prominent part. A third symposium on East and West was conducted in which Dr. P. T. Raju, Dr. D. M. Datta, Prof. Haridas Bhattacharya and others took part; there was also a symposium on the problem of the Maithilī.

Other Meetings

The occasion of the conference was availed of by other cultural organisations in the province: the promoters of the Mithila University organised a public meeting and invited the delegates to give them their views; and the Bihar Sanskrit Association held their annual convocation in the Conference Pandal with the Governor in the chair. Mr. Aney observed in his convocation address: "The real strength of India lies in its cultural cohesion; it will be suicidal to neglect the consolidation of its cultural forces and simply to rely on the growth of the conception of nationality as is being understood in the West". There was something grand, sublime, fascinating, magnetic and all-pervasive about Indian culture, he said, and those who came into contact with it could not fail to be

gradually attracted and drawn to it, love it, respect it and ultimately be merged and absorbed in it". Dwelling on the role of Sanskrit in the work of this cultural consolidation, His Excellency pointed out that the mingling of scholars and Pandits at such a conference was bound to be of mutual benefit.

Pandita Parishad

During this session, the local committee had enlarged the Pandita Parishad, a regular feature, into a parallel Sanskrit session with 13 sections in which about 300 Pandits from all over India took part and, apart from Vākyārthas, 124 papers were presented in Sanskrit. Of South Indian Pandits who attended, mention may be made of Mm. Chinnaswami Sastri and T. V. Ramachandra Dikshitar who presided over two sections and Messrs. Veppattur Subrahmanya Sastri and Ramasubba Sastri from Chidambaram. An interesting item in the Pandita Parishad was the *Panji*, the recital by Maithili Pandits of genealogical lists maintained in their families and in the royal house.

There were also three gatherings of poets in Sanskrit, Hindi, and Maithili and even late in the night on the concluding day, as guests were departing, huge gatherings of people were sitting listening to the mike resounding with poems and songs of these Kavi Sammelans.

The Local Secretary, Dr. Umesh Misra and the Maharaja's munificence had done much for the convenience of the delegates. The Lakshmiswar Public Library of the Maharaja was kept open for the delegates and in the good collection of manuscripts here are included Poet Vidyāpati's own copy of the Bhāgavata and a rare illuminated paper scroll manuscript, only 18 feet long and 3 inches broad, in which the whole Bhāgavata is written in minute script. It is hoped that the Maharajah world soon have a descriptive catalogue of his Sanskrit mss. prepared and published.

Resolutions

The Conference passed some important resolutions. At the instance of Dr. S. K. Chatterji, the Conference urged the adoption of Sanskritised Hindi in Devanagiri script with English for some time to come as the language of India. On the motion of Dr. V. Raghavan, the Conference urged upon the Provincial and Central Governments to salvage the manuscript

treasures in the country and pleaded for the organisation of a Manuscript Department by the Centre. On the motion of Mm. P. V. Kane, the Conference congratulated the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, on their undertaking the preparation of a Sanskrit Thesaurus and Historical Dictionary and called upon scholars, institutions, Universities and Governments to give their co-operation to the work. The chief resolution, moved from the chair, requested the Government of India to organise at a suitable centre a Central Indological Research Institute to promote research in the history, philosophy, culture, languages and literatures of India and the Asian countries which came into close contact with India in the past, and to house a National Library and Collection of Manuscripts.

Next Session

Accepting the invitation of the Bombay University and the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the conference decided to hold its 15th session in Bombay at the end of 1949. Dr. S. K. De, retired Professor of Sanskrit, Dacca University, was elected General President and the following were elected Section-Presidents:—Vedic: Sri Vishva Bandhu Sastri of East Punjab. Iranian: Prof. Tavadia of Santi Nikaten. Classical Sanskrit: Dr. V. Raghavan of.the Madras University. Religion and philosophy: Prof. V. A. Ramaswami Sastri of the Travancore University. History: Dr. A. S. Atlekar of Benares Hindu University. Archaeology: Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Director-General of Archaeology. Dravidian: Dr. P. S. Subramanya Sastri of Annamali University (Retd.). Pali and Buddhism: Prof. Vadekar of Poona. Prakrit and Jainism: Prof. H. D. Velankar of Bombay. Islamic Culture: Prof. Humayun Kabir of Education Department, Delhi. Arabic and Persian: Maulvi Mahesh Prasad of the Benares Hindu University. Linguistics: Dr. Siddheswar Varma of Kashmir. Technical Sciences and Arts: Dr. V. S. Agrawala of the Archaeological Department, Delhi. The following were elected to the Executive Committee of the Conference:

President: Dr. S. K. De. *Vice-President*: Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. *Treasurer*: Mm. V. V. Mirashi. *General Secretaries*: Dr. A. S. Altekar and Dr. R. N. Dandekar. *Other Members*: Dr. P. V. Bapat, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Prof. K. C. Chattopa-

dhyaya, Prof. S. P. Chaturvedi, Prof. Jagan Nath, Mm. Dr. P. V. Kane, Prof. D. D. Kapadia, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Mm. Dr. Umesh Misra, Dr. V. Raghavan, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Dr. Sukumar Sen, Dr. A. N. Upadhyaya, Dr. P. L. Vaidya. Prof. H. D. Velankar, Dr. G. Yazdani.

BOOK REVIEWS

Early Indus Civilizations by Ernest Mackay, M.A., D.Litt. F.S.A., Luzac and London. Stiff paper Rs. 15-0-0. Cloth binding Rs. 17-6-0.

This is the second edition of the late Dr. Mackay's earlier publication, the Indus Valley Civilization issued in 1935, revised and enlarged by Mrs. Dorothy Mackay for the benefit of Indian Students in the light of further excavations at Mohenjodaro, Harappa, and Chanhu-daro. The book is divided into eight chapters, as in the original edition, with headings in a few cases slightly altered, in which the various aspects of the Indus Valley Civilization are described. Besides Bibliography and Index, an addendum summarising briefly the results of the investigations of scholars subsequent to the first publication of the work in 1935 about the dating of the Harappa Civilization, and the interpretation of the writing on the seals from ancient Indus Cities has been added. The number of plates is more than doubled. In the place of the original 16 the present work contains 34, besides 'The Air Photograph of Mohenjo-daro', which forms the frontispiece, and the map of India showing the position of the Indus Valley Cities.

Notwithstanding the diggings carried on at Harappa and Chanhu-daro subsequent to the publication of the original work in 1935, no new material facts have come to light, and our knowledge of the Indus Valley Civilizations and of the people who were responsible for its development remains pretty much what it was before. The numerous seals with and without inscriptions and other cult objects discovered in the Indus Valley excavations are usually pressed into service in this connection. Their evidence is not, however, unequivocal and clinching. Though several attempts have have been made to decipher the Indus Valley script, it remains as mysterious to-day as it was when the first seal was brought to light. It is not possible to draw any conclusions from them until they are satisfactorily interpreted and explained. The cult objects are supposed to indicate the prevalence of the Mother Cult together with an incipient form of Śaivism.

It is supposed that Śaivism was at first exclusively the faith of the Dravidians; and as the Indus Valley finds reveal the traces of an incipient form of Śaivism, it has been

argued that the ancient inhabitants of the Indus Valley who practised this religion must have been Dravidians. We know nothing about the religion of the Primitive Dravidians. Scholars usually fall back upon early Tamil literature for the re-construction of the history of the Primitive Dravidians. Picking and choosing only those facts which they consider specially favourable to their views, they present us a mythical picture of a society which they believe to be Dravidian. This cannot be accepted. Dravidian, in the first place, is a name arbitrarily chosen by philologists to denote a group of languages. It is not valid to suppose that because a group of people were speaking languages with strong affinities, they belonged to one and the same race. Secondly, Tamil literature uncontaminated by Sanskrit language and uninfluenced by Sanskritic culture is not known. Therefore, the evidence drawn from early Tamil literature cannot give us any idea of the primitive Dravidian religion. Śiva was not a Dravidian God; he is a Vedic diety. The birth and growth of Śaivism step by step can be traced from the Vedic literature, from the Ṛg Veda down to the Upanishads. It is vain to contend, ignoring the mass of evidence found in Vedic literature, that Śiva was originally a Dravidian God and Śaivism a Dravidian religion. If the objects found in the excavations of the Indus Valley cities reveal traces of Śaivism, then the people who followed it must have been Vedic Aryans or people of allied culture and not the primitive Dravidians of whom nothing is known. The meaning of the cult objects found in the ancient Indus cities can be understood much better by a close and patient study of the Vedic literature than by imaginative speculations about the religious practices of the so-called primitive Dravidians. The archæologists who are engaged in the study and interpretation of the ancient Indus Civilizations have much to gain by devoting their attention to the Vedic literature, the Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas and other works of allied character.

The present edition like its predecessor is devoid of technical discussions, which would have made it hard for a lay reader to follow. The style is lucid and the presentation clear and attractive. The Early Indus Civilizations in short serves as an excellent introduction to the study of ancient Indus Valley civilization and culture,

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA

Ānanda Raṅga Vijaya Campū of Śrīnivāsa Kavi. Edited with Critical Introduction, Notes and Sanskrit Commentary by Dr. V. Raghavan, University of Madras, with a Foreword by H. E. C. F. Baron, Governor of French India. Editor or B. G. Paul & Co., G. T., Madras. 1948. pp. i-xvi+1—75+1-199. Rs. 4.

All students of Sanskrit literature should warmly welcome the publication under notice which is to be considered a rare specimen among the historical kāvyas in Sanskrit and which is, therefore, to be included among other famous historical kāvyas like Bāṇa's Harṣacarita, Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī, Bilhaṇa's Vikramāṅkadevacaritra, Kavirāja's Navasāhasāṅkacarita, Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita's Sāhityaratnākara and Rāmabhadrāmbā's Raghunāthābhyudaya. The author of this work, Śrīnivāsa Kavi, who is known as a native of South Arcot and the son of one Gaṅgādharādhvarin of Śrīvatsa Gotra, was a contemporary of the hero of the Campū, Ānandaraṅga Pillai and was patronised by him. Ānandaraṅga Pillai, it is known from his famous Diary, was a "noble Hindu merchant-prince who, whether in office or not, led a rich life, supporting the Brahmins, patronising the learned, delighting in music and dance, and spending lavishly on domestic celebrations, feasting thousands and instituting lasting benefactions of Iṣṭāpūrta". It is therefore no wonder that the poet, who received sufficient patronage and encouragement in life from him, was inclined to write a beautiful campū on the life and achievements of his benefactor.

The Campū is in eight *stabakas*. The first *stabaka* describes the hero's high lineage from the Yādavas of Ayanavaram near Madras who traced their descent from Nandagopa himself, the foster-father of Śrīkṛṣṇa. The second *stabaka* describes the various descendants that had appeared in the line. Of them one was Bommaya who married Rāmānujā. They had two sons, Veṅkaṭa and Tiruveṅkaṭa. Tiruveṅkaṭa, the younger of the two, married one Lakṣmī. They went on a pilgrimage to Tirupati and instituted many charities there. In the third *stabaka* it is stated that by the blessing of Lord Veṅkateśvara, they had a son born in the cyclic year Sarvadhāri, Phālguna month (30th March 1709). Tiruveṅkaṭa named him Vijayānandaraṅga. A brother was born to him called Tiruveṅkaṭa, whereupon their mother Lakṣmī died. Then they all migrated to Cennapaṭṭaṇa (Madras) where

Tiruveṅkaṭa carried on flourishing business. He had to go once to Nūtanarājadhānī (Pondicherry) and there he met the French Chief who had already known his skill in business and administration. There he was made the chief adviser of the French.

Stabaka four describes Tiruveṅkaṭa's migration to Pondicherry as the head of the businessmen in that place. During his stay there he made many benefactions. He died in 1726 A. D. and his first son Ānandaraṅga (the hero of the Campū) was made the chief Agent. *Stabaka* five narrates his marriage with Maṅgā, daughter of one Śeṣādri of Chingleput. The marriage was celebrated in all pomp and splendour. After this he was asked to go to Porto Novo to look after the French business there. He went there with his brother and returned in all success. His brother also was officially associated with the French. *Stabaka* six describes the birth of a long-prayed-for son to Ānandaraṅga and the child's horoscope.

Then begins the historically important portion of the work. The Carnatic wars are now described, in which Ānandaraṅga Pillai had to play a leading part. He made alliance with Hīra (Muzaffar Jung), the nephew and opponent of Nazir Jung the Nizam, and Chanda Sahib.

When Chanda Sahib was taken captive by the Marathas, Pillai protected his family and paid the necessory ransom for his relief. He, in consultation with the French Governor, sent a French army to defeat Anavardhi (Anavardi Khan) under the able guidance of Saraja (Raza Sahib), the son of Chanda Sahib. A great battle was fought and Anavardhi was killed. Chanda Sahib was made Nawab of Arcot. Both Hīra and Chanda Sahib paid a thanksgiving visit to Pondicherry to greet Ānandaraṅga Pillai and the French Governor with rich presents.

Stabaka seven describes the march of Hīra and Chanda Sahib against King Pratāpasiṁha of Tanjore. Knowing the strength of the invading forces which had the full support of the French, Pratāpasiṁha did not want to continue his fight and so paid a tribute to Hīra and Ānandaraṅga. Then follows the account of the fight between Hīra and Nazir. Hīra was supported by Chanda Sahib and the French. Nazir had the aid of the Marathas and wanted to capture Hīra alive. A great battle was fought on the banks of the Kola river. Finding the odds too much against him, Nazir thought of

offering peace to Ānandaraṅga, when he got the news that Hīra was captured alive and so withdrew towards Arcot. But the French pursued him, and another battle was faught near Gingee in which Nazir was killed and Hīra set free. Ānandaraṅga now became the great friend of the Delhi monarch, Muhammad Shah. Great euologies were paid to Pillai and the French Governor. *Stabaka* eight concludes the work with the description of the achievements of Pillai. The Mughol emperor conferred on him the title of 'Vajārataraya' meaning the 'Chief of Ministers' and the honour of being the lord of 5000 horses. His son Muddu Vijayānandaraṅga was similarly honoured with the lordship of 1500 horses, as also the gift of the fort of Kokanada (Chingleput). The French Governor was also honoured by the lordship of 7000 horses and the French were given the Jagir of a big territory with several forts. The French Governor Dupleix was much pleased and he expressed himself that it was through Ānandaraṅga Pillai that he got all the honours. The poet dedicates the work to Ānandaraṅga in whom he has found a great lover of art and culture, a true soldier and a great benefactor. The Campū was finished in Kali 4854 (A. D. 1752).

The learned editor has very carefully edited the text with the help of two manuscripts and he has added a gloss in Sanskrit of his own giving short explanatory notes on difficult words or allusions in the text. If the commentary were a bit more elaborate giving the poetic excellences also of the work in detail, it would have been by itself a very valuable work, though even such as it is now, it is excellent. His critical introduction giving a lucid account of Ānandaraṅga Pillai's career both in his private and official life, drawn from various historical and other sources, is by itself a valuable document and it is very useful to compare the life-achievements of the hero of the Campū as depicted by the poet with his career known from other sources. The detailed summary of the work given chapter by chapter, with copious explanatory notes and corraborating foot-notes enhances the value of the edition. His chronological table and bibliography and the map showing the places mentioned in the work are most useful in a critical edition of this historically important work in Sanskrit. The language of the work is generally simple and natural though the prose passages are, at times, affected by long compounds,

figures of speech like *śleṣa* and *virodha*, alliteration and other *śabdacitras*.

Dr. Raghavan is to be congratulated on having brought out a critical edition of this historical Campū. The value and importance of this publication cannot be better estimated than by the scholarly Foreword of H. E. C. F. Baron, Governor of French India, who appreciates the learned editor's work in the following terms: "Dr. Raghavan renders a service to two cultures and I should be tempted to add: his own and ours, would not his work show once more that there is only one culture upon which we all together are dependent : the culture of Man."

V. A. RAMASWAMI SASTRI

Mahādeva's Mudrārākṣasanāṭakakathā, edited by Dr. V. Raghavan, 2nd revised edition, No. 1 of the Sarasvati Mahal Series, Tanjore, 1948. i-viii+1-80+1-42+i-xxxxviii. Rs.2/8-.

Viśākhadatta's *Mudrārākṣasa* occupies a unique position among the Sanskrit dramas. The 'spectator' there is held spell-bound by the war of wits fought between the two prime ministers rather than by any erotic display. The plot of such an intriguing play is bound to be intricate and a little difficult to follow. Mahādeva's *kathā*, in simple and straight Sanskrit, has rendered the plot easily intelligible. It is not a mere summary of the drama. It reads like a novel in itself. A perusal of it enables one to follow every detail in every scene of the drama.

While Mahādeva's narrative, besides being a great aid to the understanding of the original drama, has thus some merit of its own, its value has been increased many times by the Introduction and the Notes which the learned editor, Dr. V. Raghavan, has added to it. He has, of course, retold the story in English. But that is perhaps the least important part of his edition. Its chief merit lies in the comprehensive background, not only of Mahādeva's *kathā*, but also of Viśākhadatta's *nāṭaka*, it presents to the reader. In shedding light on the historical events mentioned in the drama, he has called in evidence even the puranic and the foreign sources. His notes are really illuminating. He has fully explained the difficult terms both lexically and grammatically. His notes on the names in the story are especially helpful to the student. In short, he has made the *kathā* doubly important and doubly useful: a work of history, and a literary piece. As such, it is

eminently suited as a text book for Sanskrit students. Hereby they will kill two birds with one stone : they will acquire a fair knowledge of Sanskrit, and familiarise themselves with one of the most glorious chapters of the ancient history of India.

The addition of a sketch map, indicating the Maurya Empire and the places occurring in the play, would further enhance the usefulness of the book. This addition, if possible, may be made in the subsequent issues of it.

B. CH. CHHABRA

La Grammaire De Panini (The Grammar of Pāṇini) transtated from Sanskrit with extracts from the indigenous commentaries by Louis Renou, Member of the Institute and Professor in the Faculty of Letters in Paris; fasciculus I (Adhyayas 1, 2 and 3); work published with the help of the National Centre for Scientific Research, Paris 1948.

In this work Prof. Louis Renou of Paris has tranalated into French the first three chapters in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. There has been a German translation by Bohtlingk. The present work is more explanatory and more complete. The translator has made considerable use of the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* of Puruṣottamadeva and the translator even feels that one may take it as a translation of that work. But the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* does not comment on a large number of *Sūtras*, especially the Vedic *Sūtras*. He has also made use of the *Kāśikāvṛtti* and the *Nyāsa* on it. The English renderings of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and of the *Siddhāntākaumudī* by Sris Chandra Vasu have been of considerable help to him.

First the *Pratyāhāra Sūtras* are given and the characteristic feature of the letters comprehended under the various *Sūtras* are noted against them. Thus against the first two *Sūtras* is given the note: "Simple vowels and long vowels implied therein." The particular *Pratyāhāras* that have been used by Pāṇini in his work built out of the *it* (mute sound) at the end of each *Sūtra* are also given against the *Sūtra*. Thus against the first *Sūtra* is given the *Pratyāhāra aṇ*; against the second *Sūtra* are given the *Pratyāhāras ak, ik, uk*. Against the *Sūtra*: j, b, g, ḍ, d, s are given the *Pratyāhāras aś, haś, vaś, jhaś, jaś, baś*. In giving the consonants in the *Pratyāhāra Sūtras*, he omits the vowel in *a* added usually (presumably in view of the facility of writing a consonant without a vowel in Roman script). The *its* at the end of the *Pratyāhāra Sūtras*

are given in inverted commas. He also takes note of the fact that there are two *aiṇ Pratyāhāras* and gives them the numbers 1 and 2.

Then he takes the text, gives a translation of the *Sūtra* and adds examples to it with brief explanations where wanted. The annotations are very brief and to the point. In giving the translation, he makes the *Sūtra* quite explicit by adding the wanted additional words within brackets. I give below an English version of the translation of the first two *Sūtras*, which will make his plan clear:

I. 1. 1. the Sounds *ā* " ai....c " (=ai au) (bear the name of) vṛddhi (" growth ")

Application VII. 2, 1 etc., and as under 2 ff.

2. The sounds a " e....ṅ " (=e o) bear the name of guṇa (quality). Application VI.1.87, etc. and as under 3 ff.

As an example of his annotation I give below the notes under the third Sūtra: इको गुणवृद्धी

For applying VII. 3, 84 which teaches Guṇa by name before the Sārvadhātuka and the Ārdhadhātuka suffixes, one understands the Guṇa e as being the substitute of the vowel i in the root ci " to collect " (to get the form ceta "he will collect") ; the guṇa o being the substitute of the vowel u in hu-" offer " (to get the form hota - " he will offer ") etc. The same for the application of VII. 2.1, which teaches vṛddhi by name.—On the contrary, the vṛddhi of the word dyauḥ "heaven" not being taught by name, is not the substitute of the i in div-, but due to the occurance of the consonant v; the vṛddhi of panthāḥ " path " is the substitute of n in pathin-. The guṇa a of the pronoun saḥ " he " is the substitute of the final consonant of tad-; Cf. respectively VII. 1, 84; 85; 2,102.

All that is required to understand the meaning of the *Sūtras* and their application have been given, and the needed references to the *Sūtras* are also given. I have no desire to to go into small points like the propriety of translating *guṇa* with " quality ", although the translation " growth " for *vṛddhi* is not of the same category. My own explanation for he terms *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* is that when two vowels like *a* and *i*

are twisted as into a thread, it becomes a *guṇa* (thread) and if they are only put side by side as expanded, it is *vṛddhi*.

The annotations are more eleborate than in Bohtlingk but not so elaborate as in the English version of S. C. Vasu. In the version of Vasu, matter from certain traditional Indian interpretations has been brought in. For example in the *Sūtra* नाज्झलौ, there is the element आ pressed into the *Sūtra* according to traditional interpretation. But such devices are not introduced into this translation and annotation. It is strictly a Pāṇinian interpretation. Of course there is a suggestion even in the traditional interpretation that the whole *Sūtra* can be dispensed with by taking the *Prayatna* of *Ūṣmans* as *Īṣad vivṛta* and that of *Svaras* as *Vivṛta*. In the annotation of S. C. Vasu, such points have been raised.

There are many such cases not taken note of in the interpertation that are basis of some of the most controversial discussions in latter dilectical *Vyākaraṇa*. For example, when in the *Sūtra* अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः, *aṇ* is taken as formed with the second *ṇ* in the *Prayāhāra Sūtra* (namely लण्), *e* and *ai*, and *o* and *au* become mutually *Savarṇas*. Then the traditional interpretation requires the *Sāvarṇya* of ṛ and ḷ. The first is not rejected nor the second prescribed. Thus, as I have already said, this is strictly a Pāṇinian interpretation and not an interpretation of Pāṇini on the lines of Indian traditions.

I must here confess that, strictly speaking, Pāṇini could not have meant two values for Pratyāhāra *aṇ*. one with the second *ṇ* in the *Grahaṇa Sūtra* and the other with the first *ṇ* (in अ इ उ ण्) in the other occurences (namely, I-1-51. VI-3-111, VII-4-13 and VIII-4-57). But this distinction has been accepted in all traditional commentaries and has been also adopted in the modern European interpretations, for example Bohtlingk. It is of no purpose in Pāṇini and brings complications that have to be avoided by further elaboration like एदैतोरोदौतोर्न मिथः सावर्ण्यं ए औ इति सूत्रारम्भसामर्थ्यात् । I had noticed this point when I delivered a course of lectures on *Śiva Sūtras* many years ago.

On the whole the translation and annotation by Prof. Renou will be a great help for understanding the meaning of Pāṇini and will also be a suitable introduction to the traditional

commentaries on Pāṇini in Sanskrit. It is accurate, to the point, and fairly elaborate and lucid ; it also explains all the chief points.

More can be known only when the whole translation becomes available and when he explains his point of view and approach in an Introduction.

C. KUNHAN RAJA

OBITUARY

G. A. Natesan

We are very sorry to record here the passing away on 10-1-49, at the age of 76, of Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan, a life member and a member of the Governing Body of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute. A close friend of all the notable figures in the history of the country in this half-century, Sri Natesan took for many years a prominent part in the public life of the country. He founded the Indian Review in 1900 and through his publishing house, brought out numerous booklets on patriotic and cultural subjects which helped the growth of nationalism and Indian renaissance. He brought Dr. Besant's translation of Bhagavad Gītā within the reach of millions and later published abridged versions of Sanskrit epics and purāṇas and also Sanskrit Prayers and Psalms with English translation.

T. Vasu

On 21-1-49 passed away Sri. T. Vasu Naidu, a life member of the K. S. R. Institute. A keen sportsman and cricketer, the late T. Vasu was a firm believer in Hindu regeneration and Sanskrit learning. An ardent student and supporter of Sanskrit, he patronised Pandits liberally and studied Śāstras with them. He also took part in national youth organisation work.

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